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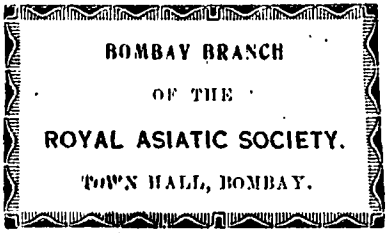

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MAIRWARA.

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GENERAL HALL, C.B.

London: Longmans & Co

THE STORY

OF

MAIRWARA

OR

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OUR RULE IN INDIA.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1868.

PREFACE.

THIS WORK is an account of the progress of a State in India which was civilised under our rule, and which it is now proposed to hand over, against the wishes of its people, to certain Native Princes. It is published with the object of appealing to the protection of public opinion in England, on behalf of a loyal and industrious population.

The Portrait facing the title-page is that of General Hall, C.B., who was the founder, and main promoter, of the reforms in Mairwara.

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THE STORY OF MAIRWARA

&c.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

MAIRWARA is a small Spartan state in Central India, adjacent to Ajmeer. On taking the latter territory from the Mahrattas, in 1818, we found ourselves compelled, by the injuries we had sustained, and the incursions to which we were exposed, to reduce the predatory people of Mairwara also. This we accomplished in 1822, and they became, in our hands, a peaceful, prosperous peasantry, the modern instance of able, active government. In the Great Mutiny of 1857,—which broke out not far from their borders—they

remained, though tempted and tried, our loyal friends. It appears there is reason to apprehend that the India Home Government contemplates the transfer of this people from our rule, to that of two native princes, who claim them as their own, but whose pretensions are repudiated by the whole Mairwara nation. This proceeding, we are told, is to take place in pursuance of what is denominated 'The Mysore policy,' the principle of which purports to be, a generous consideration of the claims of the native princes. It is further feared, that the cases of these princes are now being artfully advocated, and unfairly represented, by their well-paid agents in England.

The 'Friend of India,' a well-known organ of the Indian press, under date August 1, 1867 (p. 903), says:—

Emboldened by the success of the Mysore party, the chiefs of Meywar and Marwar, now claim villages which have been under us for nearly half a century. Colonel Taylor, in the pay of the Marwar

chiefs, is now strongly urging his employers' claims in London.

Again, in the next page, the same journal says :—

And now, we would ask, is Meywar fit, any more than in 1847, to be trusted with the lives and happiness of a whole people, born, bred, and fostered under British rule? Let her chiefs, constantly at war with each other, and often successfully resisting the orders of the Durbar itself, her roads quite unsafe for travellers, and her villages ground down by the farming system, return an answer to the question. Is Marwar now fit to govern a race who hate, and have sworn never to obey her rule? Let the by no means despicable civil war now raging there, in which the Maharajah's troops have been invariably worsted, with loss of guns and men, and her people fleeing into British territory, to escape the heavy exactions of rapacious robbers, be the reply.

Again, and in the same page :—

The Mairs were free, and gloried in their freedom, until the prowess of the British, tempered as it was with mercy, made them as proud to be under our rule, as they previously had been of their free-

dom. What made them robbers in days gone by? —The bad policy of native states. What has made them a contented people, who stood by us to a man, during the eventful years of the Great Mutiny? —British good government! And now, well-paid intrigue is brought to bear on gross ignorance, and false sentiment, to force the responsible Government of India, to make this people over to capricious and despotic native potentates. All the results of years of noble work, on the part of men like Colonels Hall and Dixon, are to come to naught and disappear, just as they are bearing full fruit. The Mairs are once more to forsake their peaceful habits, and to resume their plundering career. The British province of Ajmeer, is again to be exposed to the depredations of men rendered desperate, by the double sense of tyranny, and breach of faith. That these will be the results of making over the Mairs to rulers who cannot yet govern what they have, no one who knows them, and their history, can for a moment doubt.

We take a further expression of opinion on this subject, from another organ of the Indian press, the 'Delhi Gazette,' dated August 8, 1867:—

However opinions may differ concerning the

recent decision of the Government on the Mysore question, one thing is certain, that by this course of action, they have entailed on themselves and their successors, an unheard-of amount of worry, and of troublesome solicitation. They have placed themselves in the position of a party known to give with liberal hand, in a country where beggars are not scarce. Following the lead of the fraternity elsewhere, the word has been passed to every royal, and other jolly beggar, throughout the length and breadth of India—that a soft heart, conjoined with a head perchance no less soft, rules the Indian Council, and that now is the time to revive every obsolete claim, and to press for the concession of every unfounded pretension.

It does not therefore surprise us to hear, from authentic sources, that the chorus of claimants has been begun, and led off by no less a personage than the Maharajah of Jodhpore. Colonel Taylor, formerly an officer in the East India Company's service, but now in the Maharajah's pay, has recently been sent to London, ostensibly for other objects, but really, to revive and press the claims of his master, on a large portion of the British district of Mairwara. The Oodeypore Durbar, will not be slow to second his efforts, and to 'go in' for their share of the spoil; and unless an enlightened and powerful

public opinion be aroused, and its pressure brought to bear on the Home Government, there is no saying to what length the India Office may not be carried, in weak conciliation of Indian princes.

We feel ourselves called upon to adduce these extracts, for the purpose of showing, in the first instance—what many may be disposed to doubt—that there are grounds for apprehending, that even so extreme a measure as the transfer of a great part of Mairwara, is contemplated by the Indian Government, or some section of it, and that, if not already decided on, it is, at all events, a debatable question, now in some form before it. The extracts show that, whatever public feeling exists upon the subject in India, is strongly opposed to any movement of the kind.

Soon after the publication of Colonel Dixon's expensive quarto, entitled 'A Sketch of Mairwara,' there was a notice of it in the 'Dublin University Magazine' for July 1853, under the title of—'The Story of Mairwara, and the Labours of Colonel Hall.' This was

written by the compiler of the present work, and as it gives, in a condensed form, whatever information he could collect upon the subject of the Mairs, their singular polity, their remarkable usages, their material and moral progress, he thinks it will answer his purpose to reprint it simply as it is, only premising these introductory observations, and adding a supplementary chapter, which may bring down the account of Mairwara from June 1848, the date of Colonel Dixon's last published report, to the present time.

An authentic narrative of the advancement of a wild, but bold and independent people, from the condition of an impoverished robber state, to one of order, industry, prosperity, and a considerable amount of civilisation, embracing, improving agriculture, extending commerce, the abolition of slavery, and of cruel customs, the establishment of schools, and the introduction of Christian teaching, can hardly fail to awaken a strong interest in their favour, and may possibly help to save them

from losing the security of British connexion, and from being handed over to native princes, whose claims they disavow, and whose incompetence they despise.

CHAPTER II.

AN ACCOUNT OF MAIRWARA UP TO THE YEAR 1848.*

In the history of British India, we occasionally meet with passages which, while varying from its epic tone, strike us as not less deserving of admiration, than the spirit-stirring triumphs of that brilliant narrative. Among the most attractive of such episodes is the 'Sketch of Mairwara.' It tells of a wild and warlike race, famed for the ferocity of their forays—a nation of Rob Roys, and Robin Hoods—or something worse, partly Mussulmans, partly Hindoos, but so much laxer in their observances than either of these persua-

* 'Sketch of Mairwara.' By Lieutenant-Colonel C. J. Dixon, Bengal Artillery. 4to. Smith, Elder, and Co. London. 1850.

sions, as to be disavowed by both. Their mountain fastnesses were for ages, the Adullam caves of the neighbouring lowlands, and, accordingly, their community grew up, recruited from the worst characters of the cities of the plain. Thus circumstanced, they became an organised robber state, and continued for centuries, idle, independent, and unsubdued, plagued at frequent intervals by pestilence, or peeled by famine, until the year 1821, when they came into contact with our arms, and were reduced to subjection. Soon afterwards, their districts were confided by the East India Company, with little either of interference or of aid, to the management of an officer, whose appointment affords a fresh instance of the marked discretion with which such selections were usually made; and who, in the perfect accomplishment of a task of signal difficulty, established his claim to be rated amongst the ablest officials of that well-served Government. This was General Henry Hall, C.B., at that time a captain, acting

with the army in Malwa and Rajpootana, under Sir David Ochterlony, and whose services and gallantry had attracted the notice and elicited the commendations of his distinguished commander. Through the exertions of General Hall, the robber-system was put down, a native battalion was formed, roads were made, the passes were opened, traffic was encouraged, and a regular government was, for the first time, established throughout Mairwara. The Mairs—for so are these people named—were won over to abandon their demoralising habits, and by their own acts, in their own councils, to abolish their pernicious usages. Slavery was prohibited; infanticide, which it had been found so difficult to check elsewhere, was completely put an end to; and their peculiar, and most barbarous of all savage customs, that of selling their mothers and wives, was wholly given up. A form of trial by jury was introduced, a jail was erected, and maintained without cost to the Company, and a

system for the administration of justice was established, which was inexpensive, and so efficacious that, since the year 1824, the punishment of death has been in no instance inflicted, and but three persons have been transported. To secure a supply of water—the great want of these districts—and to husband it for the purposes of irrigation, the people were encouraged to sink wells, and taught to construct tank-embankments. Agriculture was improved, much waste jungle-land was brought into cultivation, new villages were built, and, in fine, through the labours of General Hall—unremittingly pursued, with quiet devotion, for thirteen years—this people, once so wild, were reclaimed to fixed habits of industry, and order, and are now living in security, and comfort, defraying the charges of their own establishments, and yielding, willingly, a remunerative tribute to their benefactors and protectors—the Supreme Government. This is the sketch of a 'Sketch,' the *crême de la crême* of the 'Sketch of Mair-

wara,' made to bespeak the interest of our readers. As, however, we apprehend that their attention will not be very readily accorded to a far-off district, with an unknown heathen name, and that, possibly, our glowing picture of these happy valleys, may have less the appearance of reality, than of romance, we think it well to add, that the 'Sketch of Mairwara' comes before us with unusual vouchers, as well for the substantial accuracy and unexaggerated truth of its averments, as for the importance of the labours which it records. The work was prepared by Colonel Dixon, the successor of General Hall, in pursuance of an order of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and printed at their expense, 'chiefly' (as the Minute conveying their order states) 'for the purpose of being circulated among all public officers who may have an opportunity of rendering similar services, in other quarters.' The better to secure the full effect of so good an example, it was ordered that the book should

contain scientific plans, sections, and drawings of the most material works executed, founded on actual survey, and measurement, without which their nature could hardly be understood, the difficulties encountered appreciated, or sufficient information given, to enable others to construct like works, in similar localities. The drawings of the specimens selected are accordingly given, with minute details of the mode of construction, rates of work, mode in which used, and all other circumstances. These details, however, embarrass the narrative, and with the plans, drawings, and illustrations, render the book too high-priced for extended circulation. The main object of the Directors—the instruction of their own officers—may in this manner be best attained; but, besides instructing, it is good to encourage officers, a maxim which no public body can be more ready to assent to, than the Court of Directors. We therefore, with all respect to them, submit that they may do more justice, both to the indi-

viduals whose names are so honourably connected with Mairwara, and to themselves, by the simple step of having this cumbrous 'Sketch' denuded of its quarto honours, disencumbered of work-details and expensive attributes, and reduced to the compass of a railway volume. Thus may the labours of General Hall meet, in the earnest applause of the public, the reward which will be at once most grateful to him, and most stimulating to others: thus, too, may the millions know, that, besides gathering those laurels of which we are so justly proud, extending our commerce, affording occupation, and amassing wealth, the East India Company, far from meriting the taunt of being indifferent to the internal condition of the country, is actively employed in improving it, and has been, for a length of time, unostentatiously engaged in the silent ministry of doing good.

Mairwara forms a portion of that mountain chain known by the name of the Arabala Hills, and running N.N.E. from Guzerat,

to within a few miles of Delhi. It is bounded on the north by Ajmeer, separates Meywar on the east, from Marwar on the west, and to the south, has the hill possessions of Meywar. The territory is about a hundred miles in length, with a breadth of from twenty-five to thirty :—

There are no rivers in this tract, and as the rain, descending from the hills, made its way to the plains, with the force of a mountain torrent, agriculture was extremely precarious, since the crops only received advantage from the rain, while falling. It will be shown, in due course, that arrangements were made, to obviate the want of water for purposes of cultivation, by damming up the mountain streams, whereby the calamities arising from drought, have been reduced to a minimum point. The soil, composed of the débris of the hills mixed with decayed vegetation, is extremely fertile; the return from a beegah of wheat, or barley, being from ten to twelve maunds, while in Marwar, and Meywar, immediately below the hills, the produce only ranges from six to eight maunds. The arrangements adopted in the hills, of diking up the fields with walls of dry stone—whereby moisture is retained, and the decayed vegetation, washed down

from the hills, arrested—conduce much to the fertility of the soil. The portion of the country now most productive, was, before the subjugation of the Mairs, a dense jungle, infested with wild beasts, and scarcely ever traversed by man, save along the foot-paths, which served as roads, communicating between the few villages dispersed through the hills. At the time the army penetrated the tract, no single village was inhabited in what is now denominated, Purgunnah Beawr, though at the present time it has 165 villages and hamlets in a high state of cultivation, and consequent prosperity.—(*Sketch*, p. 2.)

The Mairwara territory, now under our control, belongs, in unequal portions, to the East India Company, to Meywar, and to Marwar. On the subjugation of the Mairs, the villages which had paid allegiance to these states, were given up to them; but some of them, proving too refractory, were subsequently made over to our management. The district, as at present constituted, consists of nine purgunnahs, or divisions; of these, four belong to our Government, and form, pro-

perly, part of the British territory of Ajmeer. They embrace 143 villages and 63 hamlets, of which only 18 were inhabited, when the country first fell into the hands of General Hall. Meywar owns three divisions, comprising 76 villages and 13 hamlets. Their land is fertile, and has been much improved by the provision made for irrigation. Marwar has but two divisions, with 21 villages and four hamlets. These are mostly placed in mountain fastnesses, and have but little available land. One of the early objects of General Hall, was the making of roads :—

Formerly, there was no carriage-road from Aboo to the southward, to Khurwah in Ajmeer, northward, across the hills. Over the passes of Dewair, Chapulean, Peeplee, Mundawur, and Kot-Kuran, a traffic on camels, and bullocks, could only pass under the protection of large military escorts. Commerce was, in consequence, subjected to much expense, and interruption. The communication from Guzerat, or Marwar, to Meywar, if not effected over these ghattas, was extremely circuitous, being carried on, either through Ajmeer to the

north, or altogether to the southward of the Arabala range. The reduction of the hill-tribes, permanently opened these lines of intercourse, thereby, materially conducing to the interests of the adjoining state. Colonel Hall opened a road passing through the cantonment of Beawr, for cattle, over the Arabala range, in 1826. On the formation of the town of Nya Nuggur, in 1836, this pass was made practicable for wheeled carriages. It is now undergoing considerable improvement, and with other plans, being carried out, the communication between Marwar, and Meywar, has been so much facilitated, that the route by Nya Nuggur, has now become the great line of intercourse between the northern portion of Marwar, to Malwa and the Deccan. The arrangements for protecting trade, and travellers, through the Mairwara Hills, are so good, that a robbery is a matter of very rare occurrence. When such cases happen, the onus of satisfying the injured parties, rests with the village where the injury has been committed. Various other intermediate passes have been opened, and are frequented by all sections of the community, without fear, or apprehension. The heretofore much-dreaded Mair Hills, offer convenient routes of intercourse, between the two great principalities of

Meywar, and Marwar, through their whole length; and life and property are much more secure, from the responsibility which devolves on the people, than while traversing any of the states of Rajwara. —(*Sketch*, pp. 3, 4.)

Whatever we know of the history of these mountaineers, was collected by General Hall, from a comparison of such records as they possess, with the depositions of their chiefs. The Mairs were no clerks, but, though unacquainted with reading, or writing, it was their usage to employ itinerant historians, who marked down the main events of their career. Through these sources, their origin has been traced to the twelfth century; and it appears, that as they grew in numbers, they became troublesome to the states around them, and were, in consequence, the objects of some very formidable expeditions; all of which, however, had the one result of being unsuccessful. This, their courage, their martial character, and the difficulties of their mountain fastnesses, render quite credible. From the year 1754 to 1800,

repeated movements were made against them, by princes of the Singh family. In 1807, Baleh Rao, a Mahratta, led a force of 60,000 men against them; but their whole population rose in arms, and, attacking this numerous army, compelled it to retire. In 1810, and again in 1818, they were assailed by other Powers, who experienced the like fortune of defeat; and thus, a long series of successes increased their confidence, both in themselves, and in the impregnability of their position.

In 1818, the city of Ajmeer, some twenty-five miles north of the frontier of Mairwara, was occupied by the British forces, who soon became aware that they were in the neighbourhood of marauders, whose audacity made it unsafe for anyone to go beyond the city walls, after sunset. They were called, as we were told, Mairs, and lived by levying black-mail, on the cultivators and chiefs around. It was at that period that we first heard of their existence. A young officer, on his own entreaty, obtained leave to go amongst these

mountaineers, and sketch their unknown hills. This was Captain (now General) Hall, who was thus the first European who trod their virgin soil, and whose name, in the hereafter, was to be for ever associated with the history of their race.

An agreement was entered into with these Mairs, by which they bound themselves to abstain from plundering. This they observed only as long as they could not help it, and it became necessary to use compulsion. The hazardous task of gaining a knowledge of the features of the country, and other information before attacking it, was undertaken by Captain Hall:—

With a view (says Colonel Dixon) to gaining the knowledge of the features of the country, so necessary for the successful conduct of military operations, a party of four officers, accompanied by a strong escort, of a company of infantry, a troop of cavalry, and a number of hurkaras, proceeded from Nusseerabad, via Loolooa, to Shamgurh, in Mairwara. Of this party was Colonel (then Captain) Hall, of the Quartermaster-General's Depart-

ment, who afterwards was entrusted with the charge of the district, and who commenced, the then apparently hopeless task, of improving the morals of the Mairs. There was also an officer of Engineers; and the party was accompanied by Devee Singh, the Thakoor of Mussooda. Having proceeded thus far without molestation, they attempted to penetrate, by the Jak Ghatta, to Dilwara; but the Mairs collected in force, and occupied the pass in front of them, and they were obliged to alter their route, and passed, viâ Soorajpoora, to Khurwah, where they halted for the night. Some considerable robberies were committed during the night, and a chuprassie was reported to have been wounded; but no serious attack was made upon them, and the necessary local information having been gained, the party returned to Nusseerabad.—(*Sketch*, p. 19.)

In this passage there is a small mistake. The escort was merely for Captain Hall while reconnoitring; but wishing to see, and learn, more than he could while so attended, he left the escort, and entered Shamgurh, the chief town of the Mairs, accompanied only by an officer of Engineers. Their escape was providential; the Mairs being well aware that we

were contemplating an attack upon them, and having, at the moment, actually sent an agent, to inspect and report upon the British force. The account which their messenger gave on his return, does not do much credit to their Intelligence Department:—

The first thing (says Colonel Dixon) which he saw, was a number of Sepoys, undressed, bathing and eating; and observing so many of them with the Juneo, or Brahminical thread, across their bodies, he conceived the idea, that the regiments were composed chiefly of Brahmins—seeing that, in Rajpootana, the distinction is almost entirely confined to that caste—and held them in light esteem accordingly. He next saw them, in the evening, dressed in their red coats, and drilling on their respective parades: the exhibition seems to have fairly puzzled him, and, on returning to his friends, he reported that the British regiments, were composed of Brahmins, and women.—(*Sketch*, pp. 19, 20.)

The Mairs had, before long, an opportunity of improving their acquaintance with these Brahmins and women. In 1819, a Sepoy force, with some light guns, mounted on elephants, was brought against them, and a

simultaneous attack was made on two of their strongholds—Loolooa, and Jak. The plan, which was framed by Captain Hall, was perfectly successful, and the Mairs were again allowed to enter into an agreement, binding themselves to good conduct for the future; this, however, they did not much regard, and in another year they were in open arms against us. It had by this time become manifest, that all attempts to advance the prosperity of our possessions in Rajpootana would be unavailing, until the Mairs were reduced to order; and it was accordingly resolved on—first, to subdue, and then, if possible, to keep them quiet. Their subjection was attended with more of difficulty than was probably expected; while the keeping of them quiet—to all appearance almost impracticable—was thoroughly accomplished through 'that more excellent way' which was pursued by Captain Hall.

In pursuance of this determination, at the close of 1820, a British force again marched

against the Mairs, and, attacking them at Huttoon and Burar, met with, on each occasion, a very spirited resistance. At the former place, the well-directed fire of their matchlocks, taught us to regard them with respect; and at Burar, they twice charged our artillery, sword in hand. These places, however, were both captured; and Bhoput Khan, the leader of the Mairs in this last movement, fled to Ramgurh, situated in the midst of these fastnesses:—

Certain information having about this time been received to this effect, a detachment of eight companies, with a party of cavalry, marched off in the evening, as soon as it was dark, and proceeded all night through a most difficult country, where, in many places, the pathway would not admit of two men marching abreast; and even for one, the road was so difficult, that a mile-and-a-half an hour, was about the rate accomplished by the detachment. However, struggling on, they arrived at, and surrounded Ramgurh, by dawn. Just as arrangements were being made for an attack, the inhabitants discovered the unexpected danger that impended over them, and the alarm was given; but it was too late.

No time was lost on our part; and the troops, penetrating into the town on all sides, killed and wounded 150 men, and took about 200 prisoners. Bhoput Khan, of Huttoon, was among the former. --(*Sketch*, p. 23.)

This surprise, in their own stronghold, attended as it was with the loss of their leader, ought to have been a decided blow to the Mairs; but they were slow at comprehending a defeat, and in another week, encountered us again. The lesson they received on that occasion, concluded the campaign.

We have felt it to be but justice to those undisciplined mountaineers, to show that, in their several conflicts with our troops, they made a resistance worthy of their fame for courage — worthy of men who encounter tigers with no other weapon than a sword, and of whom it has been remarked, that they never boast. It is also, we think, a matter of some interest, to note that Captain Hall, who was afterwards the true regenerator of the Mairs, was the first British officer who

entered their territory, and that he took a prominent part* in every service against them.

* The surprise at Ramgurh was arranged and conducted by Colonel (then Captain) Hall. In announcing the capture of this place, the officer who commanded on the occasion, refers particularly 'to the arrangements of Captain Hall, of the Quartermaster-General's Department,' by which 'the detachment was brought to the scene of operations, exactly at the most eligible moment—a matter of great importance to the success of the enterprise.' A postscript adds, in accordance with the passage cited from Colonel Dixon, that 'this decided operation, was effected after a night-march of thirteen hours, through a trackless and, then thought, impassable country.'

The despatch of the officer who commanded, on the occasion of our final encounter with the Mairs, and which is dated January 24, 1821, refers as follows, to Captain Hall:—

'If I omitted to notice the valuable services rendered on this occasion by Captain Hall, the Deputy-Quartermaster-General, who accompanied the detachment, I should fail in my duty. The very correct nature of the information he was in possession of, enabled him to conduct the detachment directly upon the enemy, who were found to occupy (as he had previously informed me they did), in very considerable numbers, the whole length of an extensive and high range of difficult hills; the detachment driving them before it, but previously having to extend itself, for a distance of more than two miles, along the foot of the range, and under the observation of the enemy. The exertions of Captain Hall, when the attack commenced, were equal to the previous intelligence

These successes, which took place in January 1821, were followed by the formal submission of the Mairs, who have never since rebelled against our rule. Before, however, that rule could be fairly established, there were difficulties to be overcome, which originated in the too generous spirit of the East India Company. On the conquest of Mairwara, many of its towns and villages were claimed by the neighbouring Rajpoot states of Meywar, and Marwar, as of right belonging to them. Their claims rested, in fact, on but slender grounds, but they were unfortunately admitted, and the districts made over. Thus the Mairs, who had never before known any ruler, were, in the first instance, placed under separate governments—part of their territory being ceded to Marwar, part to Meywar, while the remainder was affixed to the British province of Ajmeer. There was, in consequence,

with which he had conducted the detachment to the scene of action; and he led in person one of our parties, ascending the most difficult part of the range, and driving before him the enemy.'

no controlling authority, to enforce order—no unity of purpose, to effect remedial measures. Confusion was the natural result. The criminals of one jurisdiction, found shelter in another—punishments were arbitrary, and severe—and the country was infested by organised banditti. We may add, that the Political Agent, who was in charge of Ajmeer, had already enough to engage his best attention. The obvious remedy for such a state of things, was the subjection of the territory to one authority, and the vesting that authority, in some officer of known ability. This was at length arranged. The Meywar and Marwar villages were, in 1823–24, placed, for a certain number of years, under our management; and in 1822, Captain Henry Hall (now General Hall, C.B.) was selected, by the Marquis of Hastings, for the important appointment of Superintendent, political and military, in Mairwara.* Within six months

* It appears that Captain Hall was, on the earnest recommendation of Sir David Ochterlony, the Resident in Malwa

after, the predatory bands were broken up, their leaders captured, the passes were opened, and traffic permitted to proceed without impediments. Single constables took the place of armed troops, for all purposes of police and revenue; 'and thus,' says Colonel Dixon, 'under the guidance of one master-hand, a regular government was for the first time established.'

The hand of Captain Hall, though often unseen, was indeed guiding every step of progress in Mairwara. In the suppression of the

and Rajpootana, 'lent' from the Quartermaster-General's Department for this service; and in noticing the appointment, and the formation of the Mair Battalion, Colonel Dixon speaks of the complimentary tone, in which the Governor-General was pleased to invest this officer with his political and military authority. 'The prominent feature,' he adds, when speaking of the order to raise the Mair Battalion, 'was the option accorded by the Government to the Commandant, of retaining command of the corps after it had been raised, and reported disciplined, by the General Officer of the division; or of returning to the Quartermaster-General's Department, with the benefits of any promotion to which he would have succeeded had he never quitted it.' Such condescension and kind consideration on the part of the Government, are matters of extremely rare occurrence.—(*Sketch*, p. 41.)

border combinations just mentioned, as well as in the more important proceedings which affected the social organisation, or the political condition of the country, he was active. It was, as we have before observed, his principle, to effect as much as possible through the instrumentality of the Mairs themselves, that so they might feel each act to be their own, and not one to which they were, in any way, compelled. To bring this to pass, however, much of previous effort was needed, to lead them more fully to appreciate the evils of existing circumstances, as well as the advantage of the proposed change.

One of the early acts of Captain Hall, was the formation of the Mair Battalion. He saw that these hardy mountaineers would make good soldiers, but his first advances towards enlisting them, met with small encouragement. The elders heard his invitations to enrol their sons as Sepoys, with coldness and distrust; and when at length recruits came forward, the first proceeding to which it was necessary

to submit them, was that of being washed with soap and water. A high medical authority, soberly assures us, that 'every Chinaman goes unwashed, from his cradle to his grave;'* and, in this particular, the Mairs may be said to emulate the children of the Flowery Land. They scarcely ever bathe, or change their clothes, from the day they are first put on, until they are fairly worn-out. Many, after having served a short time, returned to their villages, duty and subordination being, as they thought, incompatible with their feelings of independence. Recruits, too, went back to their homes at night, and on its being made known to them that they must either stay in their quarters, or give up the service, a new report got abroad, well calculated to render enlistment still more unpopular. It was said, and no doubt thought, by some of the elders, that the real object of our Govern-

* This is stated on the authority of Dr. Wilson, who had charge of our hospitals in China. *Vide* 'Medical Notes on China.' By John Wilson, M.D., F.R.S., Inspector of Naval Hospitals and Fleets.

ment was to collect the youth of the country, nominally to be enrolled as Sepoys, but actually to be made away with, so that we should receive no opposition, save from the old people. Apprehension and distrust, however, yielded to forbearance and consideration, and, before long, service in the corps was eagerly sought after. From the reports of some reviewing officers of distinction, referred to in the 'Sketch,' it appears that, in their opinion, 'the Mairwara local corps, would stand the test of comparison, with some of the best-disciplined regiments in the service; and Colonel Dixon speaks of occasions, on which the conduct of this battalion in the field, under his command, fully supported these high anticipations. We, however, desire to view this corps in another phase—as an agent in civilisation, and in this respect it appears to have realised the warmest hopes which even Mr. Joseph Kaye* would entertain, of the

* *Vide* 'The Social Condition and Education of the People.' By Joseph Kaye, Esq., M.A. 2 vols. Longmans. London: 1850.

good working of a landwehr system.' 'The corps' [says Colonel Hall, in an extract from his Report on Mairwara, dated December 1834, cited in Colonel Dixon's work] 'has contributed materially towards reforming the Mair population. The regularity of conduct, punctual discharge of duty, cleanliness, and unqualified submission required; the good faith observed in all transactions; the congenial subsistence offered to many; the full confidence reposed, and the kind treatment shown, could not fail of conciliatory effect; besides, on the other hand, being a body for coercion, which the population must have been well convinced it was fully qualified, from bravery, fidelity, and local knowledge, to inflict ample punishment, should the necessity be imposed.' In addition to habits of order, the young men acquired, in the battalion, dexterity in useful labour, in the digging of wells, in the construction and repairing of embankments, weirs, and other works of the first importance in their locality; and as the

period of service was not long, and discharges were easily obtained, these acquirements became rapidly diffused, exhibiting their results, in the improved appearance, both of the country, and its inhabitants :—

Until 1835, many of the Mair corps were accustomed to take their discharge after three years' service—their intention in entering the corps being to save sufficient money for the purchase of a couple of bullocks. Having attained the object of their ambition, they would return to their villages, to take up the occupation of husbandmen. Since that period, Tukavee advances have been freely imparted, to all persons to whom it was desirable to afford pecuniary aid, for agricultural purposes. Still, discharges from the corps are frequent. The construction of works of irrrigation, by which waste land is brought into productive fertility, when taking place at the villages inhabited by the Sepoys, induces them, at once, to seek their discharge, and become cultivators. Havildars and naicks, with the pension establishment only a few years in prospective, have been induced to quit the corps, and apply their energies to the tilling of the land. Thus the battalion is the school, in which the youth are taught obedience, and the arts of civilised life. Remaining with

it sufficiently long to have attained confirmed habits of civilisation, they return to their homes, to impart their knowledge to their village, and themselves become tutors. In this manner, has the corps proved an instrument of great utility, in disseminating knowledge, and conducing to aid us, in the social advancement and improvement of the rural population.—(*Sketch*, pp. 45, 46.)

Another of the civilising agencies introduced by Colonel Hall, related to the administration of justice. Prior to the subjugation of the Mairs, the sword most usually decided controversies, and redressed wrongs. Every man stood on his own strength, or that of his kindred. Loss of life ensued, and feuds were generated. The only peaceable modes of adjudication resorted to, were various kinds of superstitious ordeals. Colonel Hall established a form of Punchayet, or jury elected by the parties, for the determination of all complaints of wrong, excepting cases of crime, which has been found to work well. The course of procedure is in some respects singular; but it is admirably suited to the

character and condition of the people—considerations which have been too often lost sight of, by the paper reformers, and Benthams of our day :—

The complainant presents a written petition, in Oordoo, in which is embodied the particulars of his grievance. At the close of his complaint, he expresses his willingness, or otherwise, to have his case settled by Punchayet. An order is then passed for the attendance of the defendant. On his appearing, the complaint is explained to him, when he delivers in a counter-statement, signifying, at the same time, by what mode he wishes to be tried. Should each party desire a Punchayet, each names his respective arbitrators, the number of whom is alone limited by the pleasure of the contending parties. Sometimes the jury consists of twelve members on each side. Generally speaking, on the score of economy, each restricts its quota to three or four members. Objections to members on account of nearness of kin, or other reasonable grounds, are allowed, and substitutes are named, to supply the place of those challenged, or rejected. The complainant, and defendant, then enter into engagements to abide by the decision of the Punchayet, except in case of disapproval, by paying a

fine to the Government, when a new trial is allowed. In like manner, the arbitrators bind themselves by engagements, to do strict and impartial justice, in the case submitted to their decision; in failure thereof, a stated sum is forfeited. All preliminaries having been arranged, the case comes under investigation. Each party finds its arbitrators in food, which varies in quality, according to the means of the parties. On the decision of the case, the expense devolves on the losing side. As the elders are chiefly selected, from their respectability, and inferred knowledge of right, for this duty, delay in coming to a decision is not unusual—influenced, perhaps, by the circumstance that they are found in food, whilst engaged in such investigation. Feelings of pride, and the imagined honour of their clan, more frequently induce delay, when matters between two opposite septs are under discussion. Punchayets have taken a month, or five weeks, to consider the questions at issue. Having at length come to a decision, their opinion, recorded in writing, is read, and explained to the complainant, and defendant, who approve or disapprove of the decree of the 'Punch,' according as their feelings prompt them. Their decision, generally speaking, is unanimous. When otherwise, the opinion of three-fourths of the members is necessary, to make their decree binding. Although dissentients are at liberty, on paying the

stipulated fine, regulated in reference to the largeness of the case at issue, to demand a fresh trial, this privilege is rarely claimed. The Mairs, when allowed time for consideration, are open to reason, and they well know, when there is a large majority opposed to them, cogent reasons exist for the decision—the more particularly as these arbitrators, or a portion of them, have so decided the case. The superintendent will generally know when the decision of a 'Punch' is not consonant with the usages of the people. His explanation is received willingly by the arbitrators, when any deviation from common usage is pointed out to them. In this way, by observing a temperate, conciliatory tone towards the jury, a slight modification of their decree, not unfrequently, has the desirable effect of bringing round a razeenamah* on both sides.—(*Sketch*, pp. 77-8.)

This extract will be sufficiently intelligible, notwithstanding its hard terms of Eastern law. It shows that the system was selected, not for its symmetry, but for its suitability to the people. They had before a Punchayet, but it was rarely resorted to, because there was no authority to enforce its decrees. This

* A written acknowledgment of the settlement of a cause.—(*Sketch*, p. 240.)

imperfect tribunal, remodelled by Colonel Hall, has been found to answer so well, that for the last forty-six years—that is, during the whole period of our rule in Mairwara—no appeal has been made beyond the Superintendent of the district.

Minor offences are punished by imprisonment; serious crimes, by transportation or death. Death has never been inflicted from the first pacification of the country in 1824, and, in the long period that has since intervened, but three persons have been transported. These simple inland people, however, look on the punishment of transportation beyond sea, with far more of terror, than that of death. 'Their imagination,' says Colonel Dixon, 'fails to depict the state of suffering, and privation, experienced by those who are consigned to "Khala Panee."' 'Their state is that of complete uncertainty. Hence the criminals that have been transported, live vividly in the recollection of their friends; and hence it is, that this punishment is regarded more awfully than death, which at

once removes the subject of all doubts about him.*

It is a peculiar and striking feature in the penal system of Colonel Hall, that offenders are compelled to make good the value of stolen property, and, further, to provide for the expenses of their own support whilst in gaol, as well as to defray their share of the expenses of conviction. In some instances, poverty precludes this; but, as a general rule, prisoners are required to arrange these contingencies, and, if unable to liquidate them at once, to bind themselves to contribute a fixed sum at each successive harvest. This is practicable in a country where every peasant is more or less a cultivator, and has some share of the lands of his village:—

The system [says Colonel Hall, in his Report, already cited] is efficacious, notwithstanding its mildness. Besides being a direct preventive of crime, it has tended materially to soften the character, to remove atrocity, to enlist the feelings of the country, and consequently its active support, in aid

* 'Sketch of Mairwara,' p. 79.

of the police, and to render resistance to capture, even by a single chuprassee (constable), very rare. In such a country, two thousand policemen would be ineffectual, without the cordial support of the inhabitants, so that their good will is of primary importance.

The inhabitants of Mairwara are, as we have before observed, separated nominally into two religious divisions, Mussulmans, and Hindoos; but they intermarry, and, save that the former practise circumcision, and bury their dead, their customs are almost identical. The Hindoos are the least sectarian of all who anywhere profess that ancient infidelity. They wholly disregard the set forms of ablution, preparation of food, and other peculiarities. They pay no religious reverence to the idols, worshipped by the orthodox of their persuasion, elsewhere, but have their own deities. Their principal food is Indian-corn, and barley-bread; they eat, without hesitation, of sheep, goats, and even cows, have no interdiction as to the use of spirituous liquors, but never touch hog's flesh, deer, fish, or fowls.

The most remarkable and pernicious of the Mair customs were—the sale of women, female infanticide, and an extensive system of slavery. Women were looked upon as property, to be disposed of or transferred, with the same facility as cattle, or land. On the death of a father, the mother lapsed to the son, as part of the paternal inheritance, and he could sell her at his pleasure, provided he adhered to the rules of his clan. A wife might be disposed of at any time. These usages arose from no defect of natural affection (which we are assured this people possess as much as others), but from an equity of their own, having its origin in their marriage contracts. On a marriage engagement taking place, the first step, the most needful, and the most strictly enforced of all, was, that a certain sum—and, in reference to their condition, a high one—should be paid to the wife's father. From this flowed the right of sale, whether as wife or mother, it being regarded as no more than an equivalent for

the sum invested in the original purchase. Strange as such a practice may seem, it will, no doubt, appear still more singular, that it was never regarded by the women as either a grievance, or a degradation. On the contrary, they were rather flattered, at being the subjects of so clear a test of value. This was their custom from time immemorial, and when spoken to about it, neither woman nor man felt it to be in the least wrong. The well-known eulogy on the French sauce, that it might tempt a man to eat his own father, had its *pendant* amongst the Mairs; for one of them declared, without reserve, that 'he had sold, and eat, his own mother,' meaning that he had expended on himself the money he had gained by selling her. Colonel Hall traced this demoralising practice, and that of infanticide, to their cause, and, dealing with that cause, succeeded in putting them down. 'The measures,' says the work before us, 'which were adopted in view to the complete prohibition of female infanticide, and the

marked success which characterised these proceedings, are fully detailed in Colonel Hall's report, under date 31st July, 1827.' Colonel Dixon then gives the principal paragraphs of that report, of which we transcribe the following :—

Para. 5th. It is most satisfactory to be able to report the complete, and voluntary abolition of the two revolting customs—female infanticide, and the sale of women. Both crimes were closely connected, having had their origin in the heavy expenses attending marriage-contracts. The sums were payable by the male side ; were unalterable, equal for the rich and poor, without any abatement whatever, in favour of the latter. What first established the payment is unknown, but it was so sacred, inviolable, and even a partial deviation so disgraceful, that the most necessitous of the tribe would not incur the imputation.

6th. Hence arose as decided a right over the person of women, as over cattle, or other property. They were inherited, and disposed of accordingly, to the extent even of sons selling their own mothers.

7th. Hence, also, arose infanticide. The sums payable, were beyond the means of so many, that daughters necessarily remained on hand after ma

turity, entailed immoral disgrace, and thus imposed necessity for all female progeny, becoming victims to their family honour.

8th. On the establishment of British rule, both evils gradually diminished. Females were not allowed to be transferred, except for conjugal purposes; their consent was to be obtained, and their choice consulted; kind, humane treatment was enforced, and the whole system of considering them as mere cattle, was discouraged, without any indication, however, of interference with a right of property so long existing.

9th. Female infanticide was at once prohibited; and though many, no doubt, still fell secret sacrifices, from the great facility of undetected destruction, yet the danger, aided by improved feeling, increased the survivors so considerably, as to force upon the Mairs a due sense of the root of the evil, and a general wish for its removal, by a reduction of the regulated sum of contract; but they were averse, indeed declared their inability, to alter their long-established sacred custom themselves, and earnestly entreated it might be effected by an order of authority, binding all to obedience by heavy penalties. This was promised in a general way, in case of necessity; but as there were many points to be settled, and it was advisable to ascertain the general feeling with accuracy, as

well as to avoid interference, if possible, a general Punchayet was strongly urged, either to decide the matter, or, at all events, aid in the forming of appropriate regulations.

10th. After the lapse of a few months allowed for consideration, the whole was settled in public Punchayet, and its resolutions were confirmed without the slightest alteration, so that the proceeding originated with, and has been carried through by, the inhabitants themselves; nor has there been a single petition against it, either pending or subsequent to adjustment.

11th. They have lowered the sum payable on marriage-contracts, abolished all right of subsequent sale, and fixed a year's imprisonment, or 200 rupees fine, with exclusion of caste, as the punishment for deviation.—(*Sketch*, pp. 30, 31.)

We pause to admire the discretion with which Colonel Hall made this people, to such an extent, their own reformers, effecting as much as possible through themselves, so that, when authority was used, it was hardly apparent. It will, however, be obvious, that such results could not be attained without much, both of previous arrangement, and exertion:—

Thus [says the 'Sketch,' after citing the paragraphs we have just transcribed]—thus infanticide received its deathblow through the diminution of the expense attendant on marriage, which was now brought within the means of all sections of society. For many years past, no female children had been put to death. The practice has fallen altogether into desuetude. Indeed, so greatly have the ideas of the people changed, on this and other usages, since the introduction of our rule, that the commission of such an act would now be viewed as a most heinous crime. Personal advantage has, however, had its weight in bringing round the desired reform. Daughters are no longer looked upon as a source of trouble and anxiety; marriage being open to the poorest classes, they are much in requisition. Hence, fathers rejoice on the birth of a daughter, seeing they are more regarded as a source of wealth.—(*Sketch*, p. 31.)

In the convention just spoken of, the remuneration for a bride's father was restricted to 106 rupees, and the remarriage of widows was also provided for. Twelve days after the death of a husband, two mantles were placed before his widow—one red, the other white. If she took the former, it implied her prefer-

ence for remarriage, and the person who accepted her was bound to pay her sons—or, in case she had none, her brothers—from 200 to 500 rupees. The money thus realised went to provide these sons, or brothers, with wives. If her choice fell upon the white mantle, it indicated her desire to bring up her family, and remain at the head of her own household. In these arrangements of the Mairs, we have another instance of the singularity of their sentiments. In their estimation, a widow is worth more than a maid. The remuneration on the marriage of the former varies, as we see, from 200 to 500 rupees, while, in càse of that of the latter, it is fixed at the far lower rate of 106 rupees. We know not whether it will be regarded as equally remarkable, that, of all the decrees made at this convention, the hardest to enforce was that which prohibited husbands from selling their wives. Our text informs us that—

Though infanticide has been at once checked by

the decree of the Punchayet, yet it was a matter of considerable difficulty to restrain husbands from selling their wives. The interference of authority was necessary, on all occasions where a deviation from the decision of the elders was made known. The bargain was annulled, the wife taken back, and the money returned; a small fine being imposed on both parties, on account of their dereliction from established rule. Should the husband refuse to take back his wife, he was at liberty to give her leave to follow the bent of her own inclination, but on no account was her sale sanctioned.—(*Sketch*, p. 32.)

After enumerating so many eccentric usages, we must add that, notwithstanding these, the Mairs have strong domestic affections, and a high sense of honour. Colonel Dixon represents them (p. 33) as 'faithful, kind, and generous,' with a strong clannish attachment to each other. 'They are,' he says, 'very regardless of life, and always ready to take their own, or those of others, for trifling causes. They are, moreover, much attached to their families, and the dishonour of their wives is avenged by death alone.'

Colonel Hall was equally successful in abolishing slavery, which, though generally exempt from the character of illusage, prevailed extensively, and was necessarily productive of many evils. In addition to its ordinary source—war, or the seizure of people in forays, and who were not redeemed—there were three modes and varieties of slavery, peculiar to the Mairs. The first of these was denominated 'Chotee-kut':—

A man suffering great oppression proceeds to one of the chiefs, solicits his protection, and cuts off his 'Chotee,' the lock of hair preserved by the Hindoos on the top of the head, saying—'I am your Chotee-kut; preserve me from oppression.' The chief places a turban on his head, and renders him all the support in his power, keeping him in his own village. On the demise of the Chotee-kut, his property lapses to the chief, unless any of the relatives of the deceased reside in the same village. The chief, in return for his protection, receives a fourth of his gains arising from all plundering expeditions.

Another kind of bondage is called 'Bussee,' which differs only from Chotee-kut, from a written engagement being entered into, instead of cutting off the lock of hair. All castes may become Bus-

sees, while Chotee-kut cannot be provided from amongst those who lean to Mahommedanism.

'Oonglee-kut' is a third kind of servitude. It is of a milder form than those mentioned, since the duty and respect paid, are those of a son towards a father. Nor is any power exercised over life and property. The ceremony of Oonglee-kut is performed by cutting off the little finger, and giving some of the blood to the chief, whose protection is accorded. It extends to all castes.—(*Sketch*, p. 32.)

Those three forms of voluntary bondage, were traced by Colonel Hall to the condition of the country as he found it. 'A poor man,' says the work before us, 'could not obtain justice, and being unable to bear up against his powerful oppressors, desperation drove him to seek shelter from some chief; and as he possessed no means of remunerating his protector, he relinquished what is prized by all, his personal liberty, rather than live under grievances too keen for endurance.' *

Many of the social features which we have noticed, and most of the miseries of Mairwara,

* *Vide* 'Sketch of Mairwara,' p. 33.

were connected with its physical character. The hills of the country, like the flats of Holland, required that certain precautions should be taken, before they were fairly habitable. The object of the Dutch, however, was to exclude, while that of the Mairs must be to retain, the water. The measures needed to secure a supply of that essential element, called for both labour and expense; but without these, industry could not be established, order could not last—the labours of Colonel Hall would be unavailing, and his plans visionary. This was, probably, the first reflection which he made in Mairwara, as it could hardly fail to strike any observant person who mounted its hills, or crossed its valleys.

The country is, as we have said, mountainous; there are no rivers or perennial rivulets, and as the rain runs off with extreme rapidity, the soil is but partially saturated. The rains, too, are precarious, bad seasons being the rule, and good the exception. The whole amount of rain, in good seasons, rarely exceeds twenty-

two inches, and usually ranges from eight to twelve. In 1832, no single shower fell, and the province experienced all the miseries of a famine. The cattle perished, and numbers of the Mairs fled to Malwa, while those who remained had, in many cases, only the alternative of death by starvation, or of living by plunder. In ordinary seasons, too, a break of twenty-five or thirty days, without a shower, often induced results almost as disastrous. Some villages were destitute of water, even for domestic purposes, during the hot months, and their inhabitants were compelled to emigrate to more favourable localities, until the rains returned. At other places, the people had to carry water from a distance of two miles. Thus were the labours of the inhabitants interrupted, their minds unsettled, and their amendment rendered hopeless, unless it could be shown to them, that it was practicable to provide against such calamities. Colonel Hall then saw, at once, that the great want of the district was water, and that it must be his first object to con-

struct tank-embankments, and to teach and encourage the people to sink wells, and to make dams, weirs, 'narrees,' and every other appliance and form of reservoir of which it was possible to avail themselves, either for the purposes of irrigation, or for the preservation of water. All this was, in his position, attended with peculiar difficulty. The peasants he had to deal with were, at that period, idle, indolent, untrained to labour, and without confidence in themselves; and he knew that the Government would not, at first, sanction any large outlay on tank-embankments, or other public works which they might regard as experimental.

A tank in Mairwara is a very different thing from what it is in Europe, or even in Bengal. In Europe it means a small reservoir for holding water, known chiefly in ships, and manufactories. In Bengal, it is a rectangular excavation, of no great size, filled by rain, and used either for ornament or for bathing. In Mairwara it is a lake—an artificial lake or

spread of water—formed by embanking up a stream with earth or masonry, or both combined, for the purposes of irrigation, or to serve as a fountain-head to the springs of wells. The native name is 'tulao,' or 'tulab,' and tulaos are distinguished from the smaller reservoirs of Bengal by the circumstance, that the latter are excavations, while in Mairwara, the water is retained by a bund, or embankment, and spreads over and above the land. It is remarkable that Mairwara, where such works are indispensable, is admirably adapted for their construction. To the making of a tulao, it is necessary that the face of the country should possess an irregular uneven surface, traversed by hollows and corresponding elevations. The bund is thrown across the low grounds, whereby the water is obstructed in its passage; and being collected into a body, it constitutes a tulao, or tank. Mairwara has precisely the features here described, and, besides, usually affords other facilities, in the provision of stone and lime,

and a supply of wood, for calcining. Still, though these needful works are happily attended, in that country, with less than their ordinary cost elsewhere, they necessarily involve, in labour and other ways, a large expenditure, which, as we have intimated, Colonel Hall could hardly expect the Government to authorise very freely, until he was enabled to exhibit their value and importance. Under these circumstances, he was obliged to proceed more gradually than he could have wished; and the marvel is, how he advanced the industry of the country so rapidly, as materially to aid him in carrying out his reforms, and raising its character and condition.

During the time he was in Mairwara, Colonel Hall constructed seven of these vast irrigation lakes, or tank-embankments, besides repairing others of large extent, which had never been available for agricultural purposes; and he succeeded in leading the people to sink wells, and to avail themselves of smaller works, and inexpensive contrivances, for husbanding

the rain. His great tank-embankments are models of work of that description. One of these, the 'Gohana tank-embankment,' was selected by the Government of Agra for an example, and its plans and details are given in the 'Sketch' (p. 164). 'It forms,' says Captain Baird Smith,* 'a very beautiful lake, securing 250 acres of cultivation, giving food and occupation to fifty-nine families, and amply repaying the State's outlay.' It has now stood five-and-twenty years, in a climate well calculated to test its stability, and is likely to last as long as the hills around it. The Mairs saw, by the result of these works, that it was in their own power to guard against the hazards of the seasons, and learned to expect, with confidence, the return for their labours. Thus was the main impediment to their industry removed; and thus, with ancillary reforms, and the constant inspection and unfailing encouragement of their bene-

* *Vide* the valuable and interesting work on 'Italian Irrigation.' By Captain R. Baird Smith. Vol. i. p. 418.

volent governor, and supported by the conviction that the East India Company was interested in their advancement, were these wild mountaineers of 1820—these Ishmaels of the hills, these outlaws, uncivilised, half-famished, and unclad—transformed into peaceful, happy peasants, living in security and comfort on the fruits of their own industry; and when, after thirteen years of incessant labour, Colonel Hall was warned, by broken health, to bid them a long farewell, he had the deep satisfaction of knowing that he left the poor Mair trained to good habits, formed to good principles, 'clothed, and in his right mind':—

Thirteen years' continued and undivided attention to the affairs of the district had [says Colonel Dixon] impaired Colonel Hall's health. Taking into consideration the great anxiety of mind which was induced, and the constant labour and expense that were necessarily imposed on him, in training the wild tribes of the hills, and substituting regularity and order, for anarchy and disorder, the result was by no means a matter of surprise. A more arduous undertaking, in which the exercise of temper and conciliation, combined with firmness,

were essentially requisite, could not be well imagined. The reform he had to introduce could not be effected in a moment. Time and confidence were indispensable to its gradual advance, and ultimate permanency. The customs of a country had to be changed; and honest labour, and settled habits of thrift, to be exchanged for an uncertain, predatory life. The difficulties to be encountered were extremely formidable; yet, all were met with patience, and subdued through perseverance. His exertions had been attended with signal success. The regret of the people was great, on hearing that he was about to leave them. The question in their minds was, who should take the kind interest in their welfare that had been manifested by him, during the thirteen years of his administration?

Whatever may have been since effected in ameliorating the condition of the people, or in advancing them in the arts of civilised life, it is to Colonel Hall that the credit is due, for having laid the foundation of these good works.—(*Sketch*, p. 82.)

Colonel Hall gave up his charge in 1835, and the East India Company, with their customary judgment, selected in Captain (since Colonel) Dixon, the person who, of all others, was probably the best qualified to succeed him.

The new Superintendent applied himself at once to working out the measures, and developing the plans, of his predecessor; and as the Indian Government was, by this time, well acquainted with their advantageous results, there was but little difficulty in obtaining its sanction to the construction of large tulaos, at the public expense, and to making advances, in certain cases, for minor improvements. In his first year, Colonel Dixon erected two tulaos, and as he evinced the zeal and ability that were expected from him, he was soon enabled to proceed more rapidly; so that up to 1847, the date of his last Report, the number of tank-embankments and weirs in Mairwara, amounted to 290. Of these, seven were constructed, and some others repaired,* by Colonel Hall, the remainder being all erected under the direction of his successor. This refers only to works of the

* The 'Sketch,' in several places, states that Colonel Hall made *or* repaired several tanks. This is a mistake. He constructed seven tank-embankments of the larger class, and, besides, repaired others.

larger class, besides which there was, since the date of Colonel Dixon's appointment, a positive increase of 3,915 in the number of wells, and a like progress in the minor appliances for irrigation. Thus was the primary object of Colonel Hall carried out, and the province prepared against the contingencies of famine.

The attention of Colonel Dixon was not confined to irrigation-works. He converted wide tracts of jungle-land into fruitful fields, and observing that the improved condition of the people, rendered it desirable that an impulse should be given to the encouragement of trade; that there was scarcely a merchant settled in Mairwara; that the Rajpoot towns monopolised the dealings of the peasantry, to their serious loss; that an open market and a bazaar were needed; and that capital, whereby cultivators might procure advances of cash on fair terms, and so accelerate advancement, was much required—he came to the resolution of meeting these wants by building

a town. Accordingly, in 1836, he founded the town of Nya Nuggur (new city), which has answered all his expectations. Traders and mechanics flocked to occupy his handsome shops; neighbouring villages replaced their mud hovels by solid habitations, resembling those of the new city; and rival bazaars arose, in various parts of the country. The population in 1847 consisted of 1,955 families, and the average annual value of the merchandise imported, exported, and passed through the city, in the three preceding years, amounted to 147,191*l.* Provision has been made for amply supplying the inhabitants with water; trees give their refreshing shade in the chief streets, at the gateways, and in the roads which approach the town; and by having broad streets parallel to each other, intersecting the town from north to south, and from east to west, ventilation has been ensured, and health preserved. Uniformity in the buildings, and regularity in their construction, have been attended to; and in 1838 a

rampart-wall, six feet wide, twelve in the bastions, seventeen feet high, and twenty-one in the bastions, and two miles in circuit, was carried round the town. The work of all this rampart is so good, that Colonel Sutherland, on seeing it in his tour of inspection, observed that 'the building of the town-wall of Nya Nuggur, was enough to immortalise one man.'

Another of Colonel Dixon's many successful efforts, was the establishment of an annual fair, at Nya Nuggur, by which an opportunity for more general intercourse was afforded to those secluded mountaineers. We can imagine the interest with which he, and his predecessor, must alike regard this picture of the first fair :—

The fair was numerously attended by the people, decked out in their best attire, and accompanied by their minstrels. Clans, kept apart by the feuds of ages, now met on one neutral spot, and greeted each other. Opportunity was then afforded for forming a judgment as to the industry or sloth of particular sections. The dress of the industrious

shone conspicuous, while shame, and a firm resolution to amend, characterised those whose appearance was shabby. The females of the industrious classes were extremely well-dressed. Seated on the flat roofs of the bazaars in clusters, or moving about the fair, they more resembled the wives of Sahookars, in appearance and attire, than the matrons and daughters of the wild predatory race of Mairs. By this simple expedient of holding a fair, were the people of two purgunnahs gathered together at one spot; the condition of each village, indeed of each separate family, was freely imparted to each other; the sedulous had their reward in self-approbation, in having made so good an appearance, and then returned home confirmed in their habits of thrift. The wives of the slothful were the only sufferers, amidst the gay and happy multitude. Plunder and robbery were interdicted, and the only certain road to independence was, application to labour. Their lords and masters were importuned to improve their condition, and thus, example had been highly beneficial. Much good feeling had thus been generated amongst the people, and all returned home intent on amendment.—*Sketch*, pp. 120-1.

The fair is regularly maintained, and is attended by 8,000 or 10,000 Mairs, as well

as by Rajpoots, and others from the adjoining provinces.

The building of a town, and the establishment of the fair, were so far successful movements; but there is a circumstance connected with them, which leaves our praises not unmingled with regret. Colonel Dixon—'the subject,' as he says, 'having received mature deliberation'*—thought proper to dedicate the fair to a Hindoo idol, 'in whose wonderful deeds,' as he again says,† 'the people place implicit faith;' and, moreover, he erected the effigies of this idol, or hero-saint, mounted on a horse, sculptured in stone, in the centre of his town. If Colonel Dixon could do nothing for the furtherance of true religion, he ought not, at all events, to have lent the sanction of his station, and of the Government he represented, to the encouragement of idolatry. This was, according to the phrase of a great diplomatist, 'not only a crime, but an indiscretion.' Nothing has so strongly excited

* *Vide* 'Sketch,' p. 118. † *Ibid.* p. 118.

public feeling against the East India Company,* nothing in their near hour of trial will so much endanger their continuance, as their alleged discouragement of Christianity; and the mere fact of this uncalled-for idol at Nya Nuggur, may be a fresh item in the long list of charges against them.

The progress of the Mairs was not unheeded by their neighbours. The Ajmeer chiefs complained that their tenants were leaving them, tempted by better terms in Mairwara. Their Superintendent wrote to this effect to Colonel Dixon, who, in reply, showed that the cause of these emigrations lay, not in invitations from him, or reduction in assessments, but in irrigation works and field improvements; and that, if the Ajmeer chiefs adopted these, their people would not leave them. Eventually, Colonel Dixon was directed to proceed to Ajmeer, and introduce there the irrigation works and field improve-

* This was written in 1853, before the great change in our Indian Government.

ments, which had been so successful in Mairwara. This he did, to the great advantage of the district, although, from the inferior fertility of Ajmeer, and other causes, the results were not altogether so striking, either in production or in revenue, as in Mairwara.

The Mairs [says the 'Sketch'] have been singularly fortunate in the authorities who have been appointed to rule over them. Colonel Hall, C.B., devoted thirteen years to the amelioration of their condition. He taught them the arts of civilised life, and the duties of a soldier. The present incumbent has striven to follow in the steps of that able officer.

Colonel Dixon is truly entitled to the high praise of having emulated alike the zeal, and the success, of his predecessor, and it is manifest that the Mairs have been fortunate in their rulers—both in having two successive Superintendents of rare administrative talents, and, during so long a period, but the two. One of the infirmities of our Asiatic empire—incidental in a great measure to its being ruled by Europeans—is the frequency of change in

its provincial governments. A Superintendent has hardly become acquainted with his position, when he is transferred by promotion, or compelled to leave by sickness. Thus, Ajmeer has had its rulers changed eleven times in twenty-three years, while the happier Mairwara has, in thirty-one years, known no other governors than Colonels Hall and Dixon.

It is, we trust, evident that we have no desire to disparage the high claims of Colonel Dixon; but there are, in his quarto volume, some perplexing passages, to which it is right to refer, especially as they have already occasioned overt misapprehensions.

Colonel Dixon embodies in his text, and adopts the following extract, from a report made by Colonel Sutherland, a high authority, who visited Mairwara on a tour of inspection in 1841, and wrote as follows, for the information of the Governor-General of India:—

Much was achieved for the peace and agricultural prosperity of Mairwara by Colonel Hall, C.B., and the people have a lively sense of the benefits which

they derived from his administration. The high degree of prosperity which it has now attained arises, however, from the system introduced by Colonel Dixon. He may be said to live amongst the people. He knows minutely the condition of each village, and almost of its inhabitants individually; is ready to redress not only every man's grievances, but to assist them to recover from any pecuniary or other difficulty in which they may be involved. It may be supposed that such a system could not be of any extensive application; but from what I have seen here, and from my experience elsewhere, I am satisfied that in unimproved countries, if men of Colonel Dixon's energies and disposition could be found, this system of management may be of very extensive application. Colonel Dixon has no European assistance, but his native establishment is so admirably disciplined and controlled, that whether in the construction of tanks, in the assessment of the revenue, or the administration of justice amongst this simple and primitive people, these establishments conduct all matters to almost as happy an issue as he could himself. I described at some length, in the fifteenth paragraph of my Khalsa Report on the condition of Ajmeer, the system pursued by Colonel Dixon; and I need here only repeat, that it is simply to take, from all

classes alike, the money-value of a third share of the produce—to assist them to the utmost extent, on the part of Government, to obtain water for irrigation—and to assist them individually with money, or by a remission in the share of produce, according to the work to be done, in the accomplishment of all objects acknowledgedly remunerative and useful.—*Sketch*, p. 72.

This passage is sufficiently perplexing. It speaks of *a* system introduced by Colonel Dixon, to which the prosperity of the district is ascribed, while it names, expressly, two systems, and describes a third. Our complaint concerns not style, but facts, and, in making it, we join in every eulogy on the energy of Colonel Dixon. He did all that might become a man, and all that was left for him to do; but he did not introduce either of the two systems named, or the third, described in this extract—they being all in successful operation, when he took charge of Mairwara.

As we impugn this passage, we desire to be distinct.

First, we are told that the prosperity of Mairwara arises '*from the system introduced by Colonel Dixon. He may be said to live amongst the people. He knows minutely,*' &c. Surely, Colonel Dixon knows, and Colonel Sutherland ought to have known, that all this was, for thirteen years, the system and practice of Colonel Hall!

Secondly, as to the system, not expressly named, but described: '*Colonel Dixon has no European assistance; but his native establishment is so admirably disciplined,*' &c. Now, Colonel Dixon knows perfectly well, that this identical establishment was trained to his hand by Colonel Hall—trained, too, from a class who were, at that time, habituated to falsehood and fraud, and that (what is unusual in administrative changes in India) he had not to part with a single member of it.

Thirdly, the second system actually named, and the third described above, is: '*To take from all classes alike, the money-value of a third share of the produce—to assist them to*

the utmost extent, on the part of Government, to obtain water for irrigation,' &c.

The money-advances for irrigation works were, as we have seen, greatly extended in the time of Colonel Dixon, and he was thereby enabled to accomplish all that he did so well; but public works of the same description had been erected, and advances made, in like manner, in the time of Colonel Hall; and it was in consequence of the beneficial operation of these works, and their proved results, that the system of advances was extended. It was a rule of the Indian Government at that time, not to sanction advances for agricultural improvements, until their value and importance had been thoroughly ascertained. On this account, Colonel Hall was not enabled to proceed as rapidly with irrigation works, as his successor; but the system was the same, and its value was tried, established, and strikingly exhibited, in the improved condition, both of country and people, before Colonel Dixon ever built a tank.

Thus are the three averments, in that short extract, all inaccurate. Colonel Sutherland was, no doubt, justly pleased with the activity of Colonel Dixon, and the condition of his province, and possibly, in an access of official facility, forgot for a moment that he ever had a predecessor.

We have good reason for remarking on this extract. Mr. Kaye, in his well-known work* on 'The Administration of the East India Company,' takes his account of Mairwara from the 'Sketch'; does some injustice to the claims of Colonel Hall; and cites this passage in a note, as one of his main authorities. In the heading of his chapter on the 'Progress of Civilisation,' we have, 'Dixon and the Mairs,' but not the name of Colonel Hall. The latter is afterwards introduced to us as 'Captain Hall, of the 16th Bengal Native Infantry, an officer who, in the Quartermaster-General's Department, had exhibited

* 'History of the Administration of the East India Company.' By John William Kaye. One vol. 8vo. Bentley: London, 1853.

considerable ability and force of character,' and the moral and administrative reforms are mostly referred to him; but the irrigation works are as wholly ascribed to Colonel Dixon, as if his predecessor had never once thought about them: 'He (Dixon) saw at once what was the great want of the country. Eager to develope the productiveness of an unyielding soil, and to stimulate the industry of an unyielding people, he addressed himself to this great matter of the water-supply, and left untried no effort to secure it.'* 'The financial results of the experiment were highly favourable; the moral results were more favourable still.'† . . . 'His (Dixon's) name will live as the regenerator of the Mairs. It is no small privilege, to the compiler of such a work as this, to chronicle, even in a few imperfect pages, the recent annals of Mairwara, and to show how a wild and lawless

* Kaye's 'History of the Administration of the East India Company,' pp. 468-9.

† *Ibid.* p. 469.

people were reclaimed by a single European officer, taken from an expense-magazine.'

The readers of Mr. Kaye's very clever book —for such it is—may admire his style; but, as we have shown, they have some reason to distrust his infallibility.

The extract on which we have been observing, is from a report made by Colonel Sutherland, embodied, indeed and adopted in the 'Sketch'; but we have now to ask the reader's attention to another, which is altogether Colonel Dixon's own. After recording the retirement of Colonel Hall, and his own appointment, Colonel Dixon proceeds to say:—

It was manifest that water was the great desideratum, and that the first step towards improvement, must be to provide for its supply. It was the one thing necessary to bind the inhabitants to the soil, to attach them to our form of government, and to admit of our moulding them into the habits of life we desired. It was evident that on its provision,

* Kaye's 'History of the Administration of the East India Company,' p. 472.

which would ensure the ripening of the crops, de pended future prosperity. It has been said that the rains are light and uncertain; but though the fall, in reference to more favoured climes, is small, still, were arrangements matured and carried out, for retaining all the rain that fell on the soil, there was a confident promise that sufficient would be reserved for the purpose of the cultivator. The plan was easy of conception—the difficulty was to carry it out. Its enforcement involved the outlay of considerable sums of money. The people at that time were too much impoverished to afford any gratuitous assistance. Measures involving an immediate expenditure for what might have been considered a problematical benefit, were not likely to be favourably entertained by the Government. Colonel Hall, during his thirteen years' administration, had made and repaired seven tulaos. The benefit to the people and the return of revenue had been great, but the outlay had been inconsiderably small. To have progressed at the slow rate which then prevailed, would have been to have protracted the final completion of all the works of irrigation that were necessary, to an indefinite period. The Superintendent had been recently appointed. His character might not be sufficiently known to the authorities, to warrant a deviation from the then established rule, which was, to dis-

courage advances or outlays, on agricultural purposes. Still, some essay towards effecting improvement was imperative. The subject was brought to the notice of the Government, such circumstances as favoured the project being duly set forth. The proposition was favourably entertained, and sanction accorded. The requisition embraced the construction of two tulaos. The work contemplated was inconsiderable in respect to what was to be accomplished—to place the country in a position to withstand a season of drought. But as the Government had vouchsafed its sanction, there was a confident expectation that its support would be continued, and more liberally extended to the outlay of larger sums, on the utility, alike to the people and to the State, of works of irrigation being made palpably manifest. The question of the support of the Government having, happily, been answered in the affirmative, it became necessary to arrange, systematically, for the spread of improvement throughout the district. The expense of the larger works, it was evident, must be borne by us; but there was no reason for allowing the inhabitants to remain inactive. It was desirable to enlist their hearty co-operation in the fulfilment of contemplated improvements.—*Sketch*, pp. 85-6.

We submit that the impression which this passage is calculated to convey is, that

although Colonel Hall built a few tanks in thirteen years, Colonel Dixon was the first who saw the real value of irrigation works, and gave the impulse to their construction; that, when he took charge of the district, the advantages arising from these, might have been regarded as 'problematical' by the Government, and their utility as not yet made 'palpable.' This is, accordingly, the impression imbibed, not only by Mr. Kaye, but also by Captain Baird Smith, who, in his valuable book on 'Italian Irrigation,' * gives an abstract of Colonel Dixon's book; and it appears again, in a notice of the 'Sketch,' in the February number of 'Blackwood's Magazine' of the year 1853. 'Blackwood,' and Baird Smith, give each their meed of praise to Colonel Hall; but the reader will rise, from the perusal of both, with the conviction that the order of the respective merits of Colonels Hall, and Dixon, refers the social reforms to

* 'Italian Irrigation.' By Captain Baird Smith, Bengal Artillery. 2 vols. Blackwood: Edinburgh, 1852.

the former, while the irrigation works and agricultural improvements, are the fruits of 'a new system'—'a new era,' introduced by the latter:—

For thirteen years [says Captain Baird Smith*] Colonel Hall devoted himself to the social amelioration of the Mairs; to the abolition of demoralising and pernicious customs; to the substitution of honest labour and settled habits of thrift among the people, for an uncertain, predatory mode of life. Though it was reserved for his successor, to develope irrigation work, as a great engine for the improvement of the country, and of the people; it was Colonel Hall who first tamed the wild race, who substituted law and order, for anarchy and disorder, and so laid the foundation of all subsequent ameliorations.

Let the reader compare this passage with another in the next page, (p. 405), when, after speaking of the appointment of Captain Dixon, he adds:—

It soon became manifest to the new Superintendent, that *water* was the great desideratum in Mairwara, and that the first step, &c.

The same views are reproduced in 'Black-

* 'Italian Irrigation,' vol. i. p. 404.

wood,' a magazine which, we need hardly say, is not more esteemed for its ability, than for the straightforward character of its articles. In the number for February 1853 (p. 208), after enumerating the moral and social reforms of Colonel Hall, it adds:—

> In 1835, ill-health drove Colonel Hall to another climate, and he was succeeded by Captain (afterwards Colonel) Dixon, of the Artillery: with him began a new era in the history of Mairwara.
>
> It soon became manifest to the new Superintendent, that *water* was the great desideratum in Mairwara, &c.

And so it is assumed, throughout both the abstract of the 'Sketch' in Smith, and the article on Mairwara in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' that the merit of the irrigation movement—without which, as we have already observed, all other reforms would be unavailing—belongs, not to Colonel Hall, but to Colonel Dixon.

We do not impute to these writers any intentional disparagement of the claims of Colonel Hall. They have, probably, been misled by a want of clearness in their only

book of authority, the 'Sketch.' Colonel Dixon makes many acknowledgments of the services of his predecessor; but it so happens, that these are vague, save in their reference to social reform; and that, when compared with other passages of his work, they leave those very impressions, which have been taken up by every author who has referred to it.

It is but justice to Colonel Dixon to add, that the errors of his work, may arise from its being prepared amidst absorbing duties; from its having passed through the press while he was far away; and from its having been originally made up, less for the English public than for the Indian Government, who were well acquainted with the real facts. However this may be, it is certain that when Colonel Hall left Mairwara, the importance of tank-embankments in that province, was not 'problematical,' nor had their 'utility' to be made 'palpable.' This officer had availed himself of every means in his power, to encourage irrigation works, and had made their results

palpable, in the changed aspect of the country, and the improved condition of its people. In proof of this, we can adduce the independent testimony of an accomplished observer, who had no disposition to describe the doings of the East India Company too favourably. The French naturalist, M. Victor Jacquemont, visited Mairwara, and wrote of what he saw, as follows; we cite from the 'Letters from India,'* 2nd vol., p. 285, first English edition:—

I have seen the superb Jeypore and the delightful Ajmeer; and during my very short stay in the latter, I have contrived to visit Mairwara, the former abruzzie of Rajpootana. It was well worth eighty miles of riding, in little more than twenty-four hours. I saw a country whose inhabitants, since an immemorial time, had never had any other means of existence but plunder, in the adjacent plains of Marwar and Meywar—a nation of murderers, now changed into a quiet, industrious, and happy people

* 'Letters from India during the Years 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831. By Victor Jacquemont. 2 vols. London: Churton, 1834. See Appendix B., p. 121.

of shepherds and cultivators. No Rajpoot chiefs, no Mogul emperors, had ever been able to subdue them. Fourteen years ago, everything was to be done with them, and since six or seven years, everything is done already. A single man has worked this wonderful miracle of civilisation—Major Henry Hall, the son-in-law of Colonel Fagan, of whom I have written to you at Delhi.

As I know it will be gratifying to your feelings, and to your opinions on the subject, I shall add, my dear friend, that Major Hall has accomplished this admirable social experiment, without taking a single life. The very worst characters of Mairwara he secured, confined them, or put them, in irons, at work on the roads. Those who had lived long by the sword, without becoming notorious for wanton cruelty, he made soldiers; they became, in that capacity, the keepers of their former associates, and often of their chiefs; and the rest of the population was gained to the plough.

Female infanticide was prevalent with the Mairs, and generally through Rajpootana; and now female casualties among infants, exceed not male casualties —a proof that the bloody practice has been abandoned, and scarcely has a man been punished for it. Major Hall did not punish the offenders; he removed the cause of the crime, and made the

crime useless, even injurious to the offender, and it is never now committed.

Major Hall has shown to me, on the field, the corps which he has raised from amongst these former savages; and I have seen none in the Indian Army, in a higher state of discipline. He was justly proud of his good work, and spared no trouble to himself, that I might see it thoroughly, in the few hours I had to spend with him. Upwards of one hundred villagers were summoned, from the neighbouring villages and hamlets. I conversed with them on their former mode of life; it was a most miserable one, by their accounts. They were naked and starving. Now, poor as is the soil of their small valleys, and barren their hills, every hand being set to work, there is plenty of clothes and food; and so sensible are they of the immense benefit conferred on them by the British Government, that willingly they pay to it, already, 500,000 francs, which they increase as their national wealth admits of it.

Often I had thought, that gentle means would prove inadequate to the task of breaking-in populations, addicted, for ages, to a most unruly, savage life—such as the Greeks, for instance; yet the Klaphtes were but lambs, compared to the Mairs—

and the Mairs, in a few years, have become an industrious and well-behaved people.

I see by the Bombay papers that M. Capo d'Istrias has been murdered. I wish Major Hall were his successor; for now I have the greatest confidence in the efficacy of *gentle means;* but a peculiar talent, too, which is a gift of nature, is required in the ruler, without which, the most benevolent intentions would prove useless.*

In connection with Jacquemont's most interesting letter, we transcribe, from a printed document, a note addressed to Colonel Hall, by the late Lord Metcalfe, then Governor-General of India:—

Allahabad, 10th February, 1835.

My dear Colonel,—Many thanks for your kind letters. I have read your interesting report regarding Mairwara.

Your management there will immortalise you! It has already brought your name before the public with proud distinction. Jacquemont says, you ought to be King of Greece.

* Jacquemont, again referring to Major Hall, says (vol. ii. p. 291):—'There are few Major Halls to work the miracles he has done.'

You have my wishes to be whatever you may desire to be.

Yours, most sincerely,
C. T. METCALFE.

Jacquemont visited Mairwara in 1831. Colonel Hall left that province in 1835. Thus it appears that, four years before this officer left the Mairs, he had changed them '*into a quiet, industrious*, and *happy people of shepherds* and *cultivators*;' that he had '*gained them to the plough*;' that '*there was plenty of food and clothes*;' that, at this period, he had accomplished their reformation—had '*worked this miracle of civilisation*.' Colonel Dixon, we gladly repeat, evinced the most enduring zeal, reclaimed large tracts, induced new settlers, extended irrigation works, built a town, and (as was said of him by a competent authority) 'did enough to immortalise one man.' Still, *the system* he pursued so well, had been introduced, and proved, by his predecessor.

The testimony of Jacquemont would alone establish the claims of Colonel Hall. We persuade ourselves that there was no actual intention of impugning them; but as they have been, in fact, impugned, our duty, and our desire, is to defend the right.

In closing this chapter, we must express a hope, that the more popular form in which we are now presenting 'The Story of Mairwara,' may help to make known to widening circles, the fruitful labours of Colonel Dixon, and General Hall. Such workers are the stars of India, worthy of being numbered with those whose names we honour, and to whom we erect statues.

CHAPTER III.

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF MAIRWARA, FROM 1848 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

IMPELLED by the ordinary feeling in favour of fair-play, we tried, in the preceding chapter, on its first appearance, to set right some misapprehensions in reference to the respective shares of Colonel Hall and of Colonel Dixon, in the civilisation of the Mairs. We discussed the topics simply with the desire of doing justice, and do not think it necessary, on our reconsideration of the subject, to alter what we have said, or to advert to it any further.

Colonel Dixon was not inferior in energy to his predecessor, Colonel Hall. Within a year of his appointment, he had made a personal inspection of all the districts then under him, and laid before the Government an im-

portant Report, calling on them to assist him with a largely increased expenditure, for irrigation, and other field-works. In this he met with all the encouragement he could have hoped for, and was thus enabled to carry out the many great undertakings, to which we have referred in the preceding chapter. In the same first year, he founded and reared a city, thus seeking to extend to commerce, the momentum which had been already given to agriculture. We have spoken of Nya Nuggur ('The New City') before, but so great an achievement deserves a further notice. Up to the period of the building of Nya Nuggur, there was scarcely a trader in all Mairwara. Their long ancestral fame for robbery and rapine, was far too firmly fixed to allow of the Mairs being looked on, by the merchant class, without some lingering feelings of apprehension and distrust; and although Colonel Hall had, with a view to the promotion of trade, established some lines of intercourse, still these were chiefly used for cattle; and the

people got such articles as they required from Nusseerabad or Ajmeer, distant, respectively, some thirty or forty miles, paying, of course, enhanced prices. As the country was prospering, this form of dependence was inconvenient. Colonel Dixon accordingly circulated notices in the neighbouring towns, intimating his intention of building a city which would be well situated for commerce, being between the states of Marwar, Meywar, and Ajmeer; and that a wide field was thus open to merchants, for the investment of their money, while all settlers should find protection, and be received with kindness. It was added, that the customs-duties, leviable on merchandise in the new town, should be remitted for the first two years. These invitations were well received, and people came in numbers to learn particulars, and to judge for themselves. The houses were to be of stone, the streets regular and broad, and to have the shade of trees; and provision was made for a good supply of water. Candi-

dates at once came forward for forty shops, and the buildings were begun. The bazaar was to be after the model of that at Ajmeer, and was opened for traffic three months after the first stone was laid. Religious edifices were added, and in due time 'the business of life,' says Colonel Dixon, 'fell into the course of steady regularity which characterises the internal economy of old towns.'

Two years later, Colonel Dixon completed another great public work—that is, the rampart-wall, already spoken of, which surrounds his town. This was a concession to the resident traders, to secure their increasing stores, from the hazards of possible raids.

The building of Nya Nuggur appears to have answered the objects for which it was undertaken. In his last published Report, dated 1848, Colonel Dixon says:—

> The tables have now been turned, and, in place of seeking supplies from distant towns, we have ourselves become the source of supply to surrounding countries. In the course of twelve years, a town has been built, and fortified by a wall two

miles in length. A population, numbering perhaps nine thousand souls, entire foreigners to the country, have come to settle with us, and, having built their shops and houses, are now sedulously engaged in their own immediate callings. An extensive and prosperous trade has arisen, and has become cemented by time; while Nya Nuggur presents a great variety in its manufactures, and is a sample of industry worthy of imitation by our neighbours.—*Sketch*, p. 109.

It is now twenty years since the last date in Colonel Dixon's 'Sketch,' and we are happy to hear, from persons who have the means of knowing the country, that it is prosperous, and fairly progressive. Nya Nuggur has not, of late, increased much in population; but it has become the centre of a well-rooted, thriving cotton-trade with Bombay, as well as with other places; and an active commerce in other articles—such as grain, salt, sugar, spices, tobacco, opium, and wool.

Colonel Hall and, after him, Colonel Dixon, took long-continued pains to train their people to industrious ways. They had them instructed in building, in the making of tank-

embankments, and of all field-works, and supplied them with tools and implements. Their desire was, to have every individual employed, and every foot of ground under careful cultivation. They even led the minstrels, who were chartered idlers, to turn their soft hands to farm-labour. It is gratifying to find that the good habits, so cherished and enjoined, continue still. As to their success in agriculture, a competent observer, now in Mairwara, writes as follows:—

> Better cultivation than that which is brought to bear on its narrow strips of hill-bosomed land, I have seen nowhere else out of Scotland. Indeed, it would compare favourably with the model farming of Mid-Lothian. In these hill-valleys, no foot of ground is lost, and at this season (February) a sheet of vivid green, from wheat or barley, spreads from base to base of the hills, and pushes the village footpaths up on the bare hill-sides, where no corn can grow, or fertile soil be lost.

The cardinal events of the later history of the Mairs are,—the death of Colonel Dixon, and the revival of the claims of the native princes, to have a large portion of their territory

transferred to them. We shall discuss the subject of the transfer presently, but must first pay our tribute to the memory of Colonel Dixon.

Early in 1857, the year of the Great Mutiny, Colonel Dixon, worn by climate, and by the responsibilities of an arduous position, died, and was truly mourned for, by the people he had served, so devotedly, and so well. We remember reading, in the Memoirs of Warren Hastings,* that for long years after his departure from India, no native from the provinces entered the Government-Hall in Calcutta, without doing reverence to his portrait. This was the unbought homage, the genuine testimony, of public opinion, which consoled him for the Athenian gratitude he had experienced at home. Colonel Dixon, and General Hall, had no ingratitude to encounter, but they too found, in the strong regards of their people, the reward they valued most. Their names are always spoken of in tones expres-

* 'Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings.' By the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A., 3 vols. Bentley: London, 1841.

sive of veneration and regret. 'Ah,' they said, 'the days of Hall Sahib, and Dixon Sahib, are no more! They took us, when we were as wild beasts on the mountains, and made men of us!' 'The name,' said an elder, 'of Hall Baba will be known amongst us, as long as our mountains last.'"

We have seen the remarkable success of the moral, social, and economic measures introduced by General Hall in Mairwara, and that, after an experience of forty-five years, their good results continue, and abide. Order and industry have become established, slavery has been abolished, the cruel customs of selling wives and mothers have been put down, and female infanticide—one of the great difficulties of statesmen and philanthropists in India—has been wholly eradicated. The testimony of Captain Baird Smith, who knows India well, is:—'The sale of women, and female infanticide, are among the customs thus abolished; and so effectually, that the former is scarcely ever heard of, and the latter

is regarded as a heinous crime, by the Mairs themselves.' *

Mr. Kaye, in his 'History of the Administration of the East India Company,' and in a chapter on Female Infanticide which does them honour, tells of the efforts made by energetic men, in various parts of India, to put down this revolting practice—by such men as Duncan, Walker, Wilkinson, Willoughby, Erskine, Lang, Ludlow, Unwin, Macpherson, Campbell, and others; of their failures, their partial and temporary successes—and then refers to the result of General Hall's measures in Mairwara, as 'The first unequivocal success,' as one which had stood the trial of more than twenty years. His words are, 'The result appears to have justified the sanguine expectations of Colonel Hall.'

Writing more than twenty years afterwards, his successor, Colonel Dixon, says—

Thus infanticide received its deathblow, through the diminution of the expenses attending on mar-

* 'Italian Irrigation,' vol. i. p. 404.

riages, which were now brought within the reach of all sections of society. For many years past, no female children have been put to death. The practice has fallen altogether into desuetude. Indeed, so greatly have the ideas of the people changed on this, and other usages, since the introduction of our rule, that the commission of such an act, would now be viewed as a most heinous crime.*

The twenty years above referred to, may now be written down as forty-five, and the reports of missionaries, who have been living amongst this people for the last eight years, state, that infanticide is as little known there now, as it is in England. They add, that in all that time, they heard of but one case of wife-selling, and that was surreptitious, and known to be illegal. These peaceful triumphs were all devised and carried out by Colonel (now General) Hall, and all, as Jacquemont adds, with evident exultation, by gentle means.

We have two other topics to touch upon,

* *Vide* Dixon's 'Mairwara,' as cited in Kaye's 'History of the Administration of the East India Company,' pp. 564-5.

in order that our readers may have a just impression of the actual condition of Mairwara. These are,—Education and Religion. Whatever has been done in either of these departments, appears to have been owing, altogether, to the United Presbyterian Church. In 1858, some members of that denomination, moved by the terrors of the recent Mutiny, and by the more appalling barbarism which they disclosed, and desirous of sharing in the evangelisation of India, came to the determination of sending a mission there. The field they selected, was the British provinces of Ajmeer and Mairwara. They had learned that the hillmen were less under the influence of customs, and superstitions, than the dwellers in the plains, and that, accordingly, Gospel-teaching was more likely to make progress amongst them. In 1860, they sent out one medical and two ordained missionaries; and they appear to have now eight European agents there, engaged in preaching, and teaching. They have fixed stations, with central

schools, whence they supervise and inspect other schools in the villages about them. From these stations, they itinerate through given districts, preaching and ministering as occasions offer.

In their eight years' experience, they have found no serious hindrance to their efforts, but only, now and then, some little difficulty arising from caste, or prejudice, or superstition; and their addresses are listened to, with grave attention. Neither do the people make any difficulty about sending their children to the mission schools, although the missionaries uphold the healthy doctrine, that secular education and religious teaching should go hand-in-hand. Indeed, the farmers and peasantry (the real original Mairs), take a very practical view of the value of education. Having been hitherto wholly unacquainted with what, in days gone by, the Irish schoolmaster was used to call the 'three R's' (reading, writing, and arithmetic), they found themselves obliged to entrust the keeping of their ac-

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counts to the Bunneahs, or merchant-class, who, at stated times, came round to assist them. These people are said, as a rule, to falsify accounts, and, through fictitious representations of debt, to practise a great deal of oppressive fraud. Hence, fathers have become very sensible of the advantage of having their children able to assist them in the keeping of their accounts.

In 1865, the missionaries had twelve schools in and around Beawr, with a daily attendance of 470 children; and, in the following year, there was a public examination of their schools, in the presence of the authorities of the neighbourhood. In addition to the ordinary studies, they were examined in mental arithmetic, and in the first seven chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, and answered well. The number in actual attendance then was 470; but one school, numbering 100, and said to be well prepared, refused to attend, having taken it into their heads that they were all to be spirited off to an imaginary place called Willayat. The

Pundit said that, to oppose them, would be to break up the school, so they had their way.

The same day afforded another instance of the impulsive character of this people, and of the suddenness with which they act on their impressions. General Hall had directed that a remembrance-feast should be given, in his name, to such survivors as had served under him in any capacity. About 140 veterans came forward, many of them walking from a considerable distance. They rested in groups, beneath the banyan and orange trees, enjoyed their hookah and their talk; and the feast, consisting of piles of pastry and of sweets, and of all such things as they think good, was announced. At that instant it was suggested, that the whole object of the feast was to make them Christians, and that there was something wrong mixed with the food. All hesitated, and some got up, and tying pieces of cocoa-nut in their turbans were going off, leaving the feast untasted. Fortunately for the enjoy-

ment of the day, there was one sensible man amongst them. He pointed out to them, that the eatables had come direct from their first confectioner, whose shop their best Brahmins frequented daily; and, showing round the photograph of General Hall, he asked them if they could believe that he would practise such a contrivance on them? No one, on consideration, believed it, and the appeal was triumphant.

In addition to the schools around Beawr, there are village schools connected with the several stations, and in all these, adults may be seen, as well as children—young farmers reading with the Scripture classes, and answering from a Catechism, which the missionaries have rendered into the Hindee. While, however, they are openly, and with their own goodwill, teaching them great truths, the missionaries are by no means disposed to receive converts hastily, and have declined admitting several.

Colonel Dixon was not inattentive to the

value of schools. He had twelve in Nya Nuggur—ten in which Hindee was taught, and two for instruction in Persian. The number of children attending, at the date of his last report, amounted to 118. Besides these, he had village schools, amounting in all to fifty. They were of little use, and have nearly all disappeared since Colonel Dixon's death; owing partly to there being no system of inspection, and partly to the pundits (or teachers) being idle, ignorant, and underpaid—their wages being hardly better than those of a cooly, or common porter.

When the missionaries first came, there were, in all the Mugra or Hill country, but eight schools. Two were Government schools, paid for by the Indian treasury, and the remaining six were supported, partly by a sum taken from the land-tax of the district, and partly from other funds at the Commissioner's disposal. The Government teachers received six rupees a month, the others four. The result, of course, was, that such schools were altogether

useless, and this the peasantry quite understood. When asked to send their children, their ordinary answer was, 'Why should we? They learn nothing there, and they are of some sort of use to us in the fields.'

No schools will do in India which are not under a vigilant superintendence, and, for want of that, Colonel Dixon, with all his energy, was wholly unsuccessful. The missionaries take a more judicious course; they content themselves with establishing schools within a morning's ride of their stations, and postpone attempting their further extension, until they have centres which may bring them within their reach. In want of these, they have declined applications for schools from farmers, with offers of support.

Having now completed our outline of the history and present position of Mairwara, we revert to the topic with which we commenced —the transfer of large portions of this territory to the two native princes who claim them as their own. These claims have been doubt-

ful and doubted, since our first subjugation of the country, and have been the subject of many arrangements, but of no final agreement as yet. They were at first too easily conceded, and hence the great trouble they have given us. The officials to whom the Company of that day referred the examination of their titles, were deceived by evidence which they who offered it knew to be untrue. For example, the Mairs were accustomed, at certain festivals, to offer a goat or a hare, or some such trifling present, to the lowland lord near whom they lived. These were represented as symbols of allegiance, when they were, in fact, nothing of the kind, but only tokens of respect, for which they received in return an allowance—usually a too liberal allowance—of drink.

The truth, as it is now known, is, that the chiefs of Meywar and Marwar have no title to any portion of Mairwara, unless it be that of their having made continual claim to it. The Mairs were never in bondage to any man.

They have been an independent people from a period of great antiquity—it is said, even from the thirteenth century. They never paid tribute, but had long and regularly levied it from districts, which chose to buy from them that protection which their own chiefs could not afford them. Some chiefs compounded with them for an annual payment in corn or cash, and some by the assignment of a village.

It is quite true that the question of these claims is not free from difficulty. We accepted them in the first instance, and have dealt with them in agreements and treaties. Still, it may be urged that we were led into all this, by misstatements and wrong representations, and might justly repudiate a title so tainted with, what a court of equity would call, fraud. This course is not unattended with difficulty; but had we only a choice of difficulties, it would be incomparably better to accept it, rather than resort to the fearful alternative of handing a whole people back to barbarism, and foregoing all those moral

obligations which a long connection with them has induced.

We have, however, yet another course. These claimant-States entered into agreements with us, to make over what they called their districts, to meet the expenses of the Mair Battalion, and, in the treaties made in reference to these districts, it is expressly stipulated 'that they should be held by us so long as may suit our convenience.' We may then, as is suggested by the two Indian journals, cited in our first chapter, fall back upon this clause, and keep the provinces as long as we please. This course may be practically the best, but neither is it without its difficulty. The whole agreement appears to contemplate only a temporary retention of the districts, and is calculated to preclude the Mairs from ever regarding their connection with England as permanent.

In any negotiation that may be entered into with these two neighbour States, it may be well to bear in mind, that, on the subju-

gation of the Mairs, we were the only party who had a right to their country. The Mairs had forfeited all rights. Such Ishmaelites knew they had none. They had broken agreements, violated treaties, and assailed and plundered us in incessant raids, and so compelled us to subdue them. France had not a more righteous title to Algeria than we had to Mairwara—an unquestionable right by conquest. The princes of Meywar, and Marwar, were never regarded by the Mairs as anything more than pretenders. This people respected our fame in arms, and acknowledging and feeling our title by the sword,

> 'Deemed it
> No loss of pride'

to accept and obey our rule. They have learned to value their union with us, by nearly half a century of the truest services, and, come what may, we must not abandon them.

We shall now refer to some short documents, which show in what light the proposed transfer was regarded by high officials in

India, as well as by the Mairs themselves, when it was debated in 1846.

The first is the opinion of Colonel Sutherland, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-western Provinces. We transcribe it from Colonel Dixon's 'Sketch' (p. 224):—

It may be a question whether the British Government would be justified in now withdrawing its protection. Under the native governments no limit to the demands of the State exists, but the power of one party to exact, and the ability of the other to pay. If, by mild and conciliatory measures, the Mairs have been reduced from a state of wild ferocity to one of civilisation and industry, it would amount to almost a breach of faith to give them over, in their present comparatively helpless condition, to be plundered by persons whom they hate.

The probable results of their transfer would be, their impoverishment, the diminution of their cultivation, and their more or less rapid demoralisation, till they resumed their old habits of plunder, and became such a source of uneasiness to their neighbours, and disquietude to the country at large, as to render our interposition again necessary. But it could not then be rendered with the same effect as now. The remembrance would be fresh of what

would appear to the people a betrayal of their interests. They would be slow to adopt habits and to follow suggestions which, at some future time, would only make them the better objects of plunder.

We next show a document drawn up by the Mairs themselves in 1832, when it was rumoured that our rule was about to be abolished, and the Mairs given over to the native princes who claimed them. The circumstances of their position then, and now, are the same; only their aversion to being transferred has become stronger by length of time, and by their greater experience of the advantages of good rule.

The document is a petition from the Mair zemindars of Shamgurh, dated 12th June, 1832:—

The government of the English extends to thousands of koskos, and they are kings of the earth. We never yielded to any Raja, or Bhoomeah, whenever any such came with troops to attack us, we never submitted, but beat them back with our own power. What have the Bhoomeahs to do with us, that we should pay them revenue? On the contrary,

they (such as the Thakoors of Mussooda and Khurwa) paid us revenue, that we should abstain from plundering them. When you came to reduce our hills, we recognised you as our king, and made no resistance, but as the subjects of a king consented to pay revenue. Our lands were given to us by no one. At one time King Akbar took our ancestors to Delhi, circumcised them, rendered us his subjects, and gave us those towns. From those days to this, no government has been established in Mairwara. Considering you our original kings, we pay you revenue. We have derived our injuries from you; but such benefits have followed, that nobody is in want of food or raiment, and we are as happy, if not more so, than in former times. But now that the Thakoors of Mussooda, and Khurwa, have told us that they will take revenue from us, desire us to cultivate well, and point out our boundaries; we represent to you, that these lands do not belong to Thakoors, or Bhoomeahs. Boundaries have never been fixed; and it cannot be that the Thakoors of Khurwa or Mussooda shall take revenue from us. If only one of your chuprassees came, all the inhabitants of the district are obedient, with supplicating hands, but we never will submit to any other masters except you.

In 1843 this question of the transfer was

again revived, and is referred to by Colonel Dixon, as follows :—

This paragraph expresses the sentiments I entertained in 1840. Nor have I, after a lapse of two years and a half, any cause for changing those opinions. On the contrary, further experience has satisfied me of the correctness of the views I then formed. By way of illustration, it may be remarked that during the last month, reports have been rife that our arrangements in Mairwara were to be broken up, and the villagers given over to the States bearing their names. Numerous petitions have been received, and all breathing the same painful and heart-breaking sentiments: extreme despondence that they should be transferred to States to which they only paid a nominal allegiance; that the British Government, through extreme kindness, conciliation, and liberality, had weaned them from their former predatory habits, and had taught them the arts of peaceful industry; that, under the favour and solicitude of that paternal government, their children were becoming an industrious peasantry, looking alone to the produce of their lands as the means of their livelihood; that at present they were eating the bread of industry, in full security that what they earned was their own, and in full confidence that

they, and their posterity, would live in happiness under the shade of the English Government; that they had sunk all their savings and profits on the improvement of their paternal lands; that their separation from the British rule would dissipate, and utterly destroy all the visions of happiness they had so fondly hoped would be permanent, and descend from father to son in perpetuity; that now, each man received a patient and willing hearing from the Superintendent. The Kamdars would treat them with haughtiness and tyranny, fleece them of all their hard earnings, and ultimately drive them to desperation—forcing them either to quit their native soil, or to have recourse to the paths of their forefathers in resuming a predatory life. These are a few of the melancholy anticipations which rumour alone has created, in the breasts of the denizens of Mairwara.—(*Sketch*, p. 70.)

The Government had decided on making over a number of the villages to the State of Marwar; but on receiving the above remonstrance from Colonel Dixon, they reconsidered their views, and came to an agreement with the Raja of Marwar, for their further continuance under British rule. The arguments in the remonstrance are, in the main, as appli-

cable to the Mairs of the present day, as they were to those of 1843. No doubt Mairs, born and bred under our rule, are less likely to recur to predatory habits than their fathers were. Still, there is too much reason to believe that, if long placed in unfavourable circumstances, they would relapse into all bad ways, and that it would be more difficult to reclaim them than ever.

Before leaving this part of the subject, there are one or two circumstances which it is worth while noticing. Part of the arrangement come to in 1843, was, that certain villages which had been placed under our management in 1835, should be given back to Marwar, the State that claimed them. With us they prospered, and their revenue had nearly trebled; but on their re-transfer, verifying the prophetic fears of Colonel Dixon, they deteriorated, the land relapsed into waste jungle, and many of the inhabitants migrated to within our jurisdiction.

These villages, we have seen, fell away

from the advancement they had made under us. We have the cases of other Mair villages, which, in our first arrangements, were left in the hands of the chiefs that claimed them, and which never attained to any advancement. We speak of the villages on the western side of Mairwara. Thus it would appear, as far as these examples teach, that the native princes of India have little taste or talent for statesmanship, even while they see beside, and around them, the gains and the comforts of active rule.

If, in despite of the enough that has been said, and of the more that might be added, the Mairs are to be indeed abandoned; if sentimental conciliation, and the cloud-capp'd principle of nationalities, are to be extended to the yet happy valleys of Mairwara, let them at least have that semblance of freedom —that *nominis umbra* which is implied in a *plebiscite*. Were such a course practicable, we are persuaded that no influence would avail to prevent their showing to all the world

what their feeling is, and that our Government would find itself compelled to protect them. If, however, transfer is their fate, abandonment their doom, their country will soon fall back into anarchy, and our conquest of 1821 will have to be re-enacted. That accomplished, there will remain this disastrous difference between our present, and our future positions. The Mairs will no longer feel the enthusiastic attachment to English connection which actuates them now: they will have lost all faith in European justice, all trust in British truth.

In now closing our case in behalf of the Mairs, we desire to submit it to the sure tribunal of public opinion, in the hope that, for the sake of our own fair fame, for the sake of our influence in India, for the sake of the Mairs—whom, up to this time, we have signally served—so fatal a measure as this dreaded transfer, may never be allowed to receive the sanction of any section of our Government!

APPENDIX A.

THE Mairs face tigers with as much indifference as they would any domestic animal, and, with sword and shield, think themselves safe against man or beast. A few facts, out of many we have been supplied with, will show this. They are of no rare occurrence.

A tiger came near a village, and seizing a dog ran off with it in his mouth. One of the inhabitants seeing this, ran after it, and struck it with a stick. The enraged animal dropped the dog, and flew at him. Another of the villagers came to his aid, and the tiger, dropping the first man, seized him. A third came and shared a like treatment, while the inhabitants, collecting to the number of fifteen, assailed the tiger with sticks, until he dropped the man and went off. The three men recovered from their wounds.

A Mair, cutting wood on a hill, was snapped up by a tiger; but, having a stick in his hand, he beat the animal so soundly about its head and ears, while

actually in his mouth, that the tiger was glad to let go his prey and escape.

This poor man died of his wounds, after lingering for some time.

Two Mairs were cutting grass, when one of them was snatched up by a tiger. His comrade pursued, and beat the animal until it let him go. The wounded man recovered.

A cow having been killed by a tiger—a very common incident—a Mair lay in ambush all night with a loaded matchlock, with intent to kill him as he should come to feed again. The animal came, and was wounded by the matchlock-ball, but got off. Soon, however, some thirty or forty villagers collecting, set off in pursuit of the absconding tiger, and found him on a hill. He was assailed in various ways, and two or three of the villagers were severely wounded in the encounters. One, at length, went up singly, with his sword and shield, put the shield in the tiger's face, and inflicted two or three deadly wounds with the sword; but we are sorry to add that the gallant fellow lost his own life.

The villagers, wishing to recover their comrade from the grasp of the tiger, had resort to throwing stones; but, perceiving that the animal was motionless, they approached and found him lying dead,

with the bold Mair cruelly torn, but close beside him.

These facts respecting tigers, were communicated to the author by General Hall.

APPENDIX B.

VICTOR JACQUEMONT, a distinguished naturalist and an accomplished traveller, was, at the instance of Baron Cuvier, sent by the French Government to visit India. Before entering on his voyage he came to London, and was given all the facilities which our public men and men of science could afford him. He made the tour of India, visited the Punjaub, crossed the Himalayas, entered China, and, returning, explored Cashmere, where he remained for five months. He had the advantage of being made known to Runjeet Singh—the Lion of Lahore—by General Allard, a French officer, who trained that monarch's soldiers to European drill. Runjeet Singh was so much attracted by his talents and acquirements, and impressed by his character, that he urged him to accept the appointment of Viceroy of Cashmere, with, what may be well called, a fabulous income. The offer does credit to Runjeet's sagacity; but it was, unhappily, as we think, declined.

The wish expressed that Colonel Hall should be made King of Greece is playfully referred to by Lord Metcalfe, but was probably thought of in sober earnest by the young philosopher, who, as we have seen, had occasion to ponder well the subject of princely positions, and fairy-tale-like fortunes.

Jacquemont was early lost to science, and to the many circles in which he was highly regarded. He died in India.

A new edition of his Travels and Letters was brought out by 'Michel Levy, Frères, Paris,' in the close of last year.

APPENDIX C.

THE following tells of a new form of asking a favour:—

Colonel Hall was alone, in his tent, without a defensive weapon, and with no one near him, when an armed brigand sprang in, and demanded pardon for all his past offences. 'No,' said Colonel Hall; 'they are too great for that. All I shall grant you is one quarter of an hour to escape. After that I shall do my best to have you brought to punishment.'

The robber, and the difficulty, disappeared at once.

APPENDIX D.

COLONEL C. J. DIXON, a native of Scotland, entered the army, and was appointed to the Bengal Artillery, in 1812. He succeeded Colonel (now General) Hall, in 1835, as Superintendent, or Governor, of Mairwara, and attained his rank of Colonel in 1854. He died in India in the early part of 1857, the year of the Mutiny. He had thus been twenty-three years in India when he was nominated to the charge of Mairwara, and forty-five when his services were terminated by his death.

APPENDIX E.

GENERAL HENRY HALL, C.B., of Knockbrack, County Galway, and Merville, County Dublin, is descended from a collateral branch of the family of Roger Hall, of Narrow Water, County Down, Ireland. He is the fourth son of the late Venerable Archdeacon Hall, by Christiana, daughter of — Trail, Esq., and was born in 1789. In 1827 he married Sarah, eldest daughter of the late General Fagan, Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army.

General Hall entered the army in 1804, sailed for India in 1805, and arrived in Calcutta on his seventeenth birthday. He was sent on at once to Cawnpore, where he was placed under the command of Captain Delamaine. On the first introduction of Light Infantry into the Bengal Army, Captain Delamaine gave young Hall the command of the light company of his regiment. At the close of 1806 he was sent, with his regiment, on service in Bundelcund, where they formed part of a force which was destined to complete the subjugation of that country. The district was studded with forts, to the number of four-and-twenty, each with its independent chief. After taking two minor forts, they attacked a third, which presented serious difficulties, and where they lost two of their officers, and put about three hundred men to the sword. Captain Delamaine received a wound in the head, which ultimately led to his death. After this, Lieutenant Hall was appointed adjutant of his battalion, and was ordered to Benares. Thence he proceeded again to Bundelcund, and was engaged in the reduction of forts. One of these, built on the summit of a hill some eight hundred feet high, was regarded as very formidable. Before, however, they had reached it, they had to attack a fortified position named Regoulee, where they found a much stronger force than they had counted on, advantage-

ously placed. Hall led the assault up a steep ascent, with much gallantry, and had a ball through his hat. Soon after this, the fortress, which they thought would give them so much trouble, unexpectedly surrendered, and their campaign was for a while broken up.

In 1817, Captain Hall, having filled with credit several staff appointments, was nominated, by the Marquis of Hastings, to the Quartermaster-General's Department, and joined a force, which, under the command of Sir David Ochterlony, was proceeding against the Pindarees, whose subjugation was, in the result, effected.

In consequence of the absence of his senior, Captain Hall had, at this time, the advantage of being led into direct communication with the General.

Their next exploit was to reduce the hill-fortress of Paragur, at Ajmeer, which was regarded as well nigh impregnable. They had further to put down some troublesome chiefs in the Jeypore States, whose towns and forts they captured. Captain Hall received, for his services on these occasions, the marked thanks of the General.

Captain Hall was next directed to join Brigadier Knox, at Ajmeer, where he had to lay out the largest cantonment then in India. His senior officer

having been removed to another station, Captain Hall was left at the head of his department in Rajpootana. While there, he employed himself in making surveys of the country. Next came his active efforts for the reduction of the Mairs, and, subsequently, his appointment as Commissioner, Superintendent, or Governor of Mairwara. This was in 1822, and from that period, until his departure from India in 1835, his life is part of the history of that country, as we have sketched it in our text.

Meagre as this summary of General Hall's services must be, we ought not to omit stating that his name was publicly noticed on many occasions—on the occasion, for example, of the attack on Regoulee, and at the siege of Adjeehur in 1809, at Callingur in 1812, at Modherajpoona and Neepreeda in Rajpootana in 1818, and in a short campaign in Mairwara in 1819, besides the first campaign there, before adverted to. We must add that he volunteered to conduct one of the columns in the night-attack on Modherajpoona, and that his name appeared in the 'London Gazette' of the following dates, as well as in those of other dates not mentioned: 'London Gazette,' August 7, 1819, pp. 1388-1389; March 20, 1822, p. 490; March 24, 1823, pp. 479-480.

General Hall thus served in India for thirty-two

years. He was made a C.B. in 1838, and became Lieutenant-General in 1858. He is a magistrate for the counties of Galway and Dublin.

We have taken the particulars of the family of General Hall, from a work entitled 'The County Families of the United Kingdom,' and those of his military services, chiefly from a printed document, which had to be laid before the late East India Company.

Jacquemont, after observing that there were 'few Major Halls to work the miracles he has done,' adds, in another letter, that 'a peculiar talent, too, which is a gift of nature, is required in the ruler, without which the most benevolent intentions would prove useless.' This just remark appears to be illustrated in the character and career of General Hall, whose talents for government are, in fact, part and parcel of his nature. In advanced life, and amid the bereavements which render it so solitary, and so deeply sad, he retains and exhibits the energy, the assiduity, the benevolence, the active beneficence, and the unfailing judgment which, in other days, achieved for him such great results in India. At the age of eighty, he is one of the most effective magistrates of his neighbourhood, and the chief man of business of many institutions, committees, and public societies. He is a regular attendant at

the Poor-house, some miles' distance from his residence, and takes a lead in the management of its details, and a personal interest in the boys' and girls' schools, giving them frequent prizes to stimulate their progress. On his estates in the West of Ireland, he shows the same capacity as marked his Mairwara days, and is the generous promoter of advancement in every form—in agriculture, in education, in the promotion of religious objects; and, amidst these many activities, never forgetting the interests of that far-off Indian people, who have now, for forty long years, looked up to him, and will ever continue to regard him, as their first reformer, and their great benefactor.

APPENDIX F.

REMARKS,* by General Hall, on perusing the article, on the subject of Mairwara, in the 'Dublin University Magazine' for July 1853:—

The observations contained in this Sketch of Mairwara, as to the injustice done to General Hall, are generally correct; but he is convinced, without

* These Remarks were printed some years ago, for private circulation. As they refer, partly, to a matter of much public interest, the abolition of Female Infanticide, they are, with General Hall's permission, now added.

any intention, either on the part of Colonel Dixon, or the reviewers adverted to.

It is obvious enough that Colonel Dixon must have compiled the work, as ordered by Government, under the serious disadvantage of great pressure in the carrying on of his current business, and without an opportunity of revisal, preparatory to its going to press.

The length of time which intervened between General Hall's relinquishment of office, and Colonel Dixon's compilation, must have contributed much to the apparent intermixture of their respective labours.

But the very complimentary manner in which Colonel Dixon so frequently refers to his predecessor, together with the frank acknowledgment contained in the few lines (p. 81 of the Review), that 'whatever may have been effected in ameliorating the condition of the people, or in advancing them in the arts of civilised life, it is to Colonel Hall that the credit is due, for having laid the foundation of these good works,' clearly indicates the absence of all intentional misrepresentation.

The fact however is, as the reviewer states, that from the nature of Colonel Dixon's statements, anyone cursorily reading the compilation would infer that *he* had been the originator of the highly important undertaking of irrigation, in all its branches,

though the most decided proof to the contrary is contained in the work; and even one of the lakes (Gohana), constructed by General Hall, was selected by the Governor of Agra, for the publication, and appears there in full, with drawings.

Captain Baird Smith calls it, in his work on irrigation, 'A very beautiful lake, securing 250 acres of cultivation, giving food and occupation to fifty-nine families, and amply repaying the State's outlay.' *

More need not be said for the present purpose; for such ample testimony, afforded so many years after General Hall's labours had terminated, must be quite conclusive of his having established the system, and procured to the Supreme Government its great advantages, thus enabling his successors to proceed with well-assured and rapid success; and though General Hall's time was so much occupied with all the preliminary rough work, his measures for irrigation were not slow, considering the circumstances in which he was placed.

The approbation of Government was to be gained —success to be rendered certain; the supply to keep pace with the demand, rather than all at once (even if he could) to have run into a large expenditure, which could not be remunerative until long after;

* 'Italian Irrigation,' vol. 1. p. 418.

besides reserving at command the means of affording employment to the people, in times of scarcity or famine.

As carried out, in some instances, the expense was covered by the increase of revenue the *first* year, and it contributed most materially to the relief of multitudes, during one of the most severe famines that, perhaps, ever visited any country, completely destroying the food of both man and beast.

No one can be more ready to acknowledge the admirable manner in which Colonel Dixon has carried on his duties, than General Hall, and, in fact, his feelings towards him are of a most grateful nature, on that account; nor does he make these observations in the way of complaint, nor would he ever have commented on these errors, had they not been rendered prominent by the notice in the 'Dublin University Magazine.'

As General Hall never contemplated his exertions in Mairwara becoming public, he would be wanting in the ordinary feelings of human nature, were he not much gratified at his measures, and their results, being so favourably noticed.

His abolition of female infanticide, alone, saved numbers of lives annually, and Mr. Kaye* pro-

* See Mr. Kaye's very valuable work, 'The History of the Administration of the East India Company,' pp. 563-4.

nounced it as the 'only instance on record of complete success,' but with some infelicity of remark detracts from his merits, by ascribing it to a simple municipal regulation.

Now, this was far from being the case: it cost him very great preparatory exertion, in order to effect it through the people themselves, being satisfied that by *no other means could permanent* results be reckoned upon.

Prohibitory orders would have been useless, as proof could rarely, if ever, be obtained, when all were united in keeping up the practice. No medical men could be scattered through such an extent of country; nor can corpses remain unburied, to await examination from a distance.

It was by gaining the confidence of the people, working upon their feelings in various ways, discovering and showing them the causes of the custom, and how easily they could be removed, to the great future benefit of the community at large; by noticing occasionally female children, and appealing to parental affection, that all were eventually convinced, and won over to a general consent; so that, so far from the abolition of infanticide being the result of a merely municipal regulation, the latter only gave effect to a long course of anxious preliminary measures, bearing on the wished-for result.

In conclusion, it must be admitted to add not a little to his satisfaction, that while General Hall was simply carrying on his unpretending duties, he has in some degree contributed to do justice to the Indian Government, by exhibiting the advantages of its administration to the great country confided to its charge.

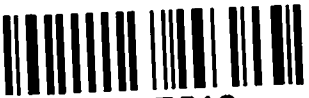
P.S.—It is a most interesting and important fact, that the fidelity of the Mair troops and people, contributed wonderfully to the safety of the European community, when the mutiny broke out at Nusseerabad. The city of Ajmeer stands in relation to the country, as the city of Delhi stood to its neighbourhood. The former, as well as the latter, had a treasury, a well-stocked magazine, jail, &c., &c., and all defended by a wall and bastions. There were 250 of the Mair corps there; the mutinous sepoys, only ten miles distant, tried to seduce them, but happily failed, and thus was Ajmeer preserved from becoming a second Delhi.

On that dreadful occasion, all the European families found refuge in the cities of Ajmeer and Beawr, the head-quarters of the corps! On a subsequent occasion, the Mair corps distinguished themselves against the mutineers, under Brigadier-General (now Sir G. St. P.) Lawrence.

Colonel Dixon died in the year of the Mutiny (1857), but before the outbreak.

It is only justice to his memory to say, that had he not retained the confidence of the Mairs, and kept up the efficiency of the Mair Battalion, Mairwara, Ajmeer, and the whole of Rajpootana, would have been in rebellion against us.

H. HALL, General.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